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THE FIRST OF FEBRUARY THIS
YEAR MARY MCGOWAN MOVED
INTO THE CITY OF BOSTON
WHERE SHE HAS BEEN SINCE.
SHE IS A DAUGHTER OF MARY

THE LADY MCGOWAN
WHO WAS THE MOTHER OF
THE LADY MCGOWAN
WHO IS MARY MCGOWAN.

THE LADY MCGOWAN
WHO IS MARY MCGOWAN
WHO IS THE MOTHER OF
THE LADY MCGOWAN
WHO IS MARY MCGOWAN.

John Adams

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND
FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES I
TO THE ELEVATION OF
THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.
BY CATHARINE MACAULAY.

VOL. V.

FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLES I
TO THE RESTORATION OF
CHARLES II.

LONDON, PRINTED FOR
EDWARD AND CHARLES DILLY
IN THE POULTRY.

MDCCLXXII.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.
REPUBLIC.

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NO sooner was the throne vacated by Ann. 1649. The house of Commons abolish monarchy, the execution of the sentence of death on the person of Charles, than the Commons, according to the example of the Romans after the expulsion of their regal tyrants, passed an act prohibiting the proclaiming any individual to be King of the English empire. The royal arms were taken down from all public

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Ann. 1649. lic offices and courts *; the royal titles erased out of public writings †; the oaths of allegiance and supremacy abolished; a new great seal was created ‡, bearing the inscription, “The great seal of England;” the impression on the national coin was altered from its monarchical style to the English arms, bearing the inscription, “The commonwealth of England §;” and that there should remain no objects to excite an ambition which might prove dangerous to the liberty of the republic, not only the crown-lands and fee-farm-rents were put up to sale, but also the regalia, the rich furniture in the royal palaces, and all the expensive magnificence of monarchy.

with the legislative power of the Lords, and establish a Republic.

The Lords, who through the whole month of January had continued to meet and exercise their judicial capacity, without having taken any notice of the acts of power exerted by the single authority of the Commons, after the King’s execution made an unsuccessful attempt to preserve to their order a share in the new legislature. On the second of February, in a meeting to which the judges and all the peers

* At this time the King’s statue in the Exchange was thrown down, and on the pedestal was inscribed, “In the first year of Freedom, by God’s blessing restored.”

† Three days preceding the execution the Commons had altered the old style of the proceedings in the courts of justice to, *Custodes Libertatis Angliae, Authoritate Parliamenti.*

‡ The arms of England were engraven on one side, and on the reverse the portraiture of the House of Commons, inscribed, “In the first year of Freedom, by God’s blessing restored, 1648.” The commissioners appointed for keepers of the great seal were, Whitlock, Keeble, and Lisle. They were styled the Keepers of the Liberties of England.

§ On the reverse, the cross and harp, with the motto, “God with us.”

residing

residing in the capital had been summoned, a ^{Ann. 1649.} message was sent to the Commons, That the Lords had appointed nine of their body to join with a proportionable number of the lower house, to consider of the settlement of the government of England and Ireland. The spirit of democracy ran at this time too high among the Commons to suffer any copartnership with men invested with particular distinctions. Three successive days the Lords' messengers returned without even gaining admittance. On the fourth application the Commons took the matter into consideration, passed a negative (by a majority of forty-four against twenty-nine) on the question, Whether they should take the advice of the house of Peers in the exercise of the legislative power? and resolved, without division, That that assembly was useless, dangerous, and ought to be abolished. To this resolution immediately succeeded the following: "It has been found by experience, and this house does declare, That the office of a King in this nation, and to have the power thereof in any single person, is unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people of this nation, and therefore ought to be abolished." Two acts were passed to the purport of these resolutions *; and the Commons, taking both the legislative and the executive powers of government into their own hands, altered their style from that of the House

* The act which abolished the upper house retained to its members an entire copartnership of privilege with the rest of their fellow-citizens; peers and their children being rendered capable to elect or be elected as knights or burgesses.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Ann. 1649. of Commons to the Parliament of the common-
wealth of England, and erected a council of state,
to act and proceed according to the instructions
they should from time to time give them *.
The council of state was composed of thirty-
nine persons †, and the Commons, who now
possessed the supreme authority of the nation
without copartnership, of no more than ninety;
a paucity of number which subjected them to
much scurrilous animadversion and witticism
from the adversary ‡.

Trial and execution of the duke of Hamilton, with other Royalists. Three leaders of the King's party in the last civil war fell a sacrifice to the safety of the infant Republic: These were, the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, and the lord Capel §,

* The whole executive power of government was, by the instructions of the Commons, committed to the council of state, who were entrusted with such authority for the space of one year.

† The earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, Salisbury, lords Grey, Fairfax, Lisle, lord Grey of Groby, Rolles, St. John, Wilde, Bradshaw, Cromwell, Skippon, Pickering, Maf-
sam, Haselrig, Harrington, Vane junior, Danvers, Armine, Mildmay, Constable, Pennington, Wilson, Whitlock, Martin, Ludlow, Stapleton, Hevingham, Wallop, Hutchinson, Bond, Popham, Valentine, Walton, Scott, Purefoy, Jones.

‡ The parliament made an order, that such of the secluded members as would enter their dissent against the vote, That the King's concessions were a ground for settling the peace of the nation, should have liberty to resume their seats as senators. Seven of the secluded members, the least noxious to the governing powers, on compliance with the abovementioned order, received the benefit of this permission. Writs to places where the parliament hoped the republican interest would prevail were issued. The earl of Salisbury, for the town of Lynn in Norfolk, the earl of Pembroke, for the county of Berks, and the lord Howard of Escrike, for the city of Carlisle, were the only peers who took the advantage which the law allowed for their election into the representative body.

§ The Presbyterian parliament had such a tenderness for these criminals, that they only voted them to banishment,

and

who, in a sentence of death passed on them by ^{Ann. 1649} a second high court of justice, received the punishment due to a vicious ambition, which had preferred the interests of a few individuals to the peace, the happiness, and the glory of society †. The duke of Hamilton, a weak unsteady man, whose conduct had continually fluctuated from the courtier to the patriot, and from the patriot to the courtier *, died unregretted by either party; the earl of Holland, who had added treachery to inconstancy, was despised by both parties †; but the lord Capel,

and fined the duke of Hamilton one hundred thousand pounds. Hamilton said on his trial, That the Scots had received stronger invitations from the Presbyterians to undertake this invasion than to make the other two against the tyranny of Charles's government.

† A similar sentence, by the same court of justice, had passed on the earl of Norwich and Sir John Owen; but they obtained a pardon. On sentence being passed on Sir John Owen, the thick-skulled Welshman made a low reverence, and told the court, It was a great honor to a poor gentleman of Wales to lose his life with such noble lords. Owen was prevented from receiving this mark of distinction by the generosity of Ireton, who reminded the parliament, that there had been great endeavors used to save all the lords, but there was one commoner for whom no man had spoken a word; he therefore desired he might be saved by the mere motive and goodness of the house.

Langhorn, Powell, and Poyer were, by a court-martial, condemned to cast lots for their lives. Poyer drew the lot of death, and was accordingly shot.

* By the duke of Hamilton's conduct, in keeping clear of any connection with the English parliament after he had entered England with an army, it is plain that he meant to restore the King without terms. *Rapin*, vol. XII. p. 492, & seq. p. 518, seq.

† It was the jealousy which commonly subsists among the servants of Kings which had at first occasioned the earl of Holland to oppose the royal interest; but finding that the same talents which make a great figure in a court are not of the

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Ann. 1649. though once distinguished as a friend to Liberty, yet as a title had immutably fixed him to the interests of the crown, was in high renown with the Cavaliers, who, mistaking insolence for magnanimity, superstition for religion, and an obstinate adherence to particular interests for patriotism, have handed him down to posterity adorned with all the epithets of heroism *.

Discontent
and revolt
of the
Levellers.

Parl. Hist.
vol. XVIII.

It was not the formidable factions of Cavalier and Presbyterian alone whose enmity the English Parliament had at this time to dread. The truest friends to Liberty of their own party were disgusted with the oligarchical form into which they had modelled the government, and the undivided authority they had assumed to themselves. A petition, with articles for the settlement of the nation on a new plan, had been sent up to the Commons from the general, lord Fairfax, and the council of officers, immediately after that assembly had determined to proceed against the King's life. They demanded, the sovereign authority to be lodged in a representative assembly, composed of four hundred

exalted kind to entitle a man to lead in a popular government, he grew more jealous of the prevailing powers, and entered into those measures for the King's restoration which brought himself to the block, in an advanced age and in a declining state of health.

* The duke of Hamilton, at his trial, pleaded independence on the English laws: He was told, that his having accepted an English title, and taken a seat in the English parliament, had rendered him a citizen of England, and subject to its laws. With as little success the lord Capel had urged a promise of life from the lord Fairfax, that general declaring, that, as commander in chief, he had promised the prisoner an exemption from military justice, but without intention that it should exempt him from the justice of the civil authority. *State Trials*, vol. I. p. 565, &c seq.

persons,

persons, biennially elected by counties, cities, and boroughs, more equally proportioned with electors than the present distribution ; that all the natives or denizens of England, being not persons who received alms, or servants receiving wages, should have the privilege of an elective voice ; and that no member of a council of state, nor any officer of any salary forces in the army or garrisons, nor any treasurer or receiver of public money, should, while such, be capable of election in the representative.

These, with some proper limitations of the sovereign power, cautions against the King's party having voices in the election of the first and second representative, and proposals relative to the establishment of religious liberty, were the heads of the petition sent up by the army to the Commons. It was styled, " The Agreement of the people ;" and was to the same purport as a former agreement of the party called Levellers. The Parliament were not only silent concerning any intention of dissolving their body (though their power, according to the propositions of the army, was to have terminated on the last day of April 1649), but treated with a high tone of authority those of the party who ventured to shew discontent at their proceedings *. A conduct so ill suited to the indepen-

* One Lockier suffered death ; and for a petition in which the party had demanded reformation in point of lawful toleration, and in point of religion, with the equal administration of law to persons of all conditions, the abolishment of tythes, and other articles of the same nature, the petitioners (being troopers) were tried by a court-martial, and on several of them was inflicted the punishment of riding the wooden horse. This severity was so far from intimidating the party, that another petition was signed by ten thousand persons, in which they

Ann. 1649. dant spirit of the Levellers, provoked them to assemble at Burford, to the number of five

complained of the arbitrary influence of three or four military grandees over the supreme authority of the nation; and in which they demanded that the government should cease the illegal prosecution commenced against Lilbourn and three other leaders of the party, for a pamphlet they had published, called England's Second Chains; and this was seconded by a female petition of the same tendency. These movements of the party not having the effect to intimidate the government into milder or juster measures, Lilbourn and his three associates, though under confinement, had the courage to print a narrative of all that passed between them and the council of state, with a new model of government, entitled, *An Agreement of the free People of England*. It was a better model than any which had been yet offered to the public; and as it directs the reformation of all the grievances which the people of England then labored under, and which to this very day they do with equal weight sustain, I shall give abstracts of the most important articles. Parliaments were to be annual, instead of biennial, and the members not capable of re-election till after the intervention of one representative. The executive powers of government, during the adjournments of parliament, were to be exercised by committees of Parliament, instead of a council of state. The exercise of the supreme power, with the limitations established by the Petition of Right, was to be bound in all religious matters, touching the rights of conscience. They were not empowered to impress or constrain any person to military service, either by sea or land; "Every man's conscience, says the Agreement, being to be satisfied in the justness of that cause wherein he hazards his own life or may destroy another's." They were not empowered to give judgment on person or estate, in any case where the laws were silent, or to punish any person for refusing to answer questions against himself in criminal cases. They were not empowered to continue or make any law to prevent any person or persons from trading in foreign states. They were not empowered to continue excise or customs upon any sort of food, wares, or commodities longer than four months after the beginning of the first representative; "Being both of them, says the Agreement, burthensome and oppressive on trade, and expensive in the receipt." They were not empowered to make or continue any law whereby the real and personal estate of any subject should be exempted from the payment of their debts, or to imprison

thousand; but though this body were for the most part soldiers and veterans, yet, deceived by a promise from Cromwell of a delay of hostilities, they were unexpectedly attacked by a superior number of troops, under the command of Reynolds, and entirely defeated ^{Ann. 1649.} ^{Reduction of that party.} *

imprison the person of any man for debt; " It being, says the Agreement, both unchristian in itself, and no advantage to the creditors." They were not empowered to continue or make any law for taking away the life of the subject, except for the crime of murder, for heinous offences destructive to human society, or for endeavoring by force to destroy the Agreement. In capital offences, recompence was to be made to the party dammified, as well out of the estate of the malefactor as by loss of life. They were not empowered to impose ministers on the people, but to give free liberty to the parishioners of every parish to choose such as themselves should approve, provided none to be chosen but such as were capable of electing representatives. They were not empowered to impose any public officer upon any counties, hundreds, cities, towns, or boroughs; but those subjects who were capable of electing representatives were to choose all their public officers yearly. They were not empowered to continue or constitute any proceedings in law longer than six months to the final determination of any cause. The laws and proceedings in law were to be in no other language than English; nor was any person to be hindered from pleading his own cause, or the making use of whom he pleased to plead for him. No persons were to be exempted from the ordinary course of legal proceedings by virtue of any tenure, grant, charter, patent, degree, or birth, of any place of residence, refuge, or privilege of parliament; and to demonstrate beyond contradiction, that the party were not tainted with any principles of levelling but those which support the rights of Nature and equal government, the Agreement concludes with an injunction, That it should not be in the power of the representative to level mens estates, destroy property, or make all things common. Divers citizens of London, and the inhabitants of the county of Essex, presented two ineffectual petitions to Parliament, in favor of the Authors of this Agreement. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XIX. p. 49, & seq. p. 110, & seq.

* The insurrection of the Levellers was regarded in so formidable a light by the Parliament, that Fairfax and Cromwell were both at the head of the party which was sent against them.

An

Ann. 1649.
Affairs of
Ireland.

Clarendon.
Borlase.
Warner.
Carte.
Thurloe's
State-
Papers.

An opposition which at first appeared formidable thus suddenly crushed, procured to the new government a reputation and stability which enabled them to give a serious and effectual attention towards composing the distracted situation of the public affairs in Ireland. No sooner had the city of Dublin been delivered up to the Parliament's commissioners, than the Popish faction began to repent of that perverseness of conduct which had occasioned such an additional strength to the enemy. A considerable victory obtained by Jones over Preston, and another over the lord Taaffe by Inchiquin, in Munster, so dispirited the nobility and gentry of the Pale, that they offered their submission to Jones, provided they might have the benefit of the late peace. These terms of submission were refused by Jones with as much disdain as they had before been rejected by the Irish when courted to accept them from the King; a circumstance which, with the apprehensions of the English-Irish at the formidable strength of Owen O'Neil* (who by the authority of the nuncio had been made general of Connaught, who had all the province of Ulster in his power, and was in possession of three or four counties of Leinster) afforded a favorable opportunity to the Ormond faction to set on foot an intrigue for the bringing back their patron, vested with the same power which he had before very unsuccessfully exercised.

Ormond, whose intrigues with the Scots and Inchiquin have been already mentioned, was

* Owen O'Neil was at the head of five thousand foot and two hundred horse, of the best Popish troops in the kingdom.

waiting

waiting at Paris for an opportunity to resume Ann. 1648 his command; and on the intelligence that Inchiquin had now openly revolted from his engagement to the Parliament, had entered into a league with the English-Irish, and with their assistance had besieged the nuncio in the town of Galway, and obliged Owen O'Neil to retire over the Shannon, he set sail for Ireland, and landing at Corke in the latter end of September 1648, was received by Inchiquin, the president of Munster, with all the ceremonious parade usually paid to the person of the lord-lieutenant. The Papists of the Pale, who had commissioned agents to offer to the queen a renewal of peace, who now as heartily hated the nuncio as they had once reverenced him, and had driven him out of the kingdom and sent articles of complaint against him to Rome, vied with each other in the respect they paid to Ormond. A second treaty of peace, the terms of which varied little from the first, was immediately concluded *; and Ormond, in the character of the

* Heads of the Articles of Peace.

That the Roman-Catholics in Ireland have free exercise of religion, to enjoy all the churches and church-livings they have in possession; and that they shall not be obliged to take the oath of supremacy.

That a Parliament be assembled within six months, and after when the Roman-Catholics shall desire.

That all laws made in the Parliament of England since 1641, in blemish of the Catholics, be in the next Parliament vacated.

That indictments against Catholics be vacated.

That all impediments be taken away to the electing of Catholics in Parliament.

That all debts remain as they were in February 8, 1641, notwithstanding any attainder.

That the estates of the knights, gentlemen, and freeholders of

^{Anna 1649.} King's lieutenant, was vested with command over the united bodies of Protestants and Papists; of Connaught, Clare, Thomond, Limeric, and Tipperary be secured by an act.

That all incapacities of the natives of Ireland be taken away by act.

That all honors, trusts, and employments be conferred as well upon Catholics as Protestants.

That the King take twelve thousand pounds *per Ann.* in lieu of the Court of Wards.

That no nobleman have more than two proxies in Parliament, and all blanks to be null.

That the dependance of the parliament of Ireland upon England shall be as it may stand with the laws of Ireland.

That the council-table meddle only with matters of state.

That all acts forbidding the transport on wool be rescinded next parliament.

That if any have been wronged by grants from king James, or since, they may petition and have relief from parliament.

That the wrongs of several lords, knights, and gentlemen be righted.

That all who have had their estates taken from them in Corke, Youghall, and Dungarvon have restoration or rent.

That in the next parliament an act of oblivion pass to all Irishmen and their adherents.

That no officer of eminence in Ireland farm the customs.

That an act pass against monopolists.

That the Court of Castle-Chamber be regulated.

That the acts for prohibiting plowing with horses by the tails, and burning oats in the straw, be nulled.

That an act be passed for taking off the grievances of the kingdom.

That maritime causes be determined in Ireland.

That no rents be raised on the subject under the pretence of defective titles.

That interest-money be forgiven since the year 1641.

That these stipulated articles be of force till confirmed by parliament.

That the commissioners of parliament who treat on these conditions, agree upon such as shall be commissioners of the peace, and hear all causes under ten pounds.

That all governors of towns, castles, and places, made by the King, be with the approbation of the Catholic commissioners.

That

but with proviso, that twelve commissioners, ^{Ann. 1649.} chosen by the general assembly, should, till the peace was ratified in a full convention of Parliament, be joint sharers with him in authority.

The hopes the rebels had conceived from the junction of the troops under lord Inchiquin were entirely quashed by a total defeat of their forces, in the first enterprize undertaken by their new commander. Ormond, early in the spring, had gathered together an army of three thousand seven hundred foot, and four thousand five hundred horse, and marched towards Dublin. He took several garrisons in his way *, reduced Drogheda by a detachment of his army under the command of lord Inchiquin, his lieutenant-general, and encamped at Rathmines, with the intention to interrupt the sending relief

That none of his majesty's rents be paid, until a full settlement in parliament.

That the commissioners of oyer and terminer do try murders, stealing, and all inferior trespasses.

That hereafter such differences as shall arise between subjects be determined by courts in Ireland.

That the Roman clergy who behave themselves according to the Agreement be not molested.

That the other demands of the Catholics be referred to his Majesty's most gracious favor and farther concessions.

The great Milton, in some just strictures which he published on this infamous piece, observes, That the two-and-twentieth article, more ridiculous than dangerous, declares in the Irish a disposition not only softish but indocible, and averse to all civility and amendment; that all hopes of reformation of that people were forbidden, by their rejecting the ingenuity of other nations to improve, and wax more civil by a civilizing conquest, and preferring their own absurd and savage customs before the most convincing evidence of reason and demonstration.

Milton's Works, vol. I. p. 390, edit. 1753.

* Dundalk, where Monk commanded, was delivered up by the garrison, who mutinied against their commander.

Ann. 1649. to Dublin by sea. But on the first day of his arrival, he had the mortification of seeing colonel Reynolds and colonel Venables, with a good supply of horse, foot, money, and all other necessaries, carried into the town by a strong gale of wind from the east. Though disappointed in the hopes of distressing the town by interrupting its relief, he seized the castle of Baggatrath, a possession which would have cut off from the enemy the means of subsisting their horse; but suffering himself to be surprized by a strong party from the town, his whole army was defeated and put to an entire rout †.

The news of the arrival of Cromwell at Dublin, in the character of lord-lieutenant *, with a large body of horse and foot, compleated the dismay of the Irish ‡, and turned their former confidence into despair. Drogheda was the first town which experienced the vengeance of the adversary. Though garrisoned with a force of two thousand foot, and one regiment of horse, the flower of the Irish army; though its fortifications were in such good repair that Sir Arthur Aston, the governor, undertook to stop the further progress of the enemy for that season of the year; yet the victorious Cromwell, in the third assault, entered the town, and, mark-

† On the news of Ormond's defeat, the government of England settled one thousand pounds a-year upon Jones and his heirs.

* Lord Lisle, the son of the earl of Leicester, who had resided some time in Ireland in the character of lord-lieutenant, was recalled on the appointment of Cromwell.

‡ A report had prevailed so strongly among the Irish that Cromwell's intention was to land in Munster, that the lord Inchiquin was sent into that province with a strong detachment from the army under Ormond.

ing

ing it as an exemplary monument of punishment to that and succeeding generations, put the whole garrison, with the inhabitants, to the sword, except a small number, who were sent to the English settlement at Barbadoes ‡.

The fate of Drogheda struck such a terror to the Irish, that they talked in all quarters of treaſing. Trim and Dundalk were immediately quitted by the Royalists. There did not remain with Ormond, who was now fallen into great disgrace, above fifteen hundred foot and seven hundred horse, nor would any of the principal port-towns admit his soldiers, or receive garrisons from his authority. This wayward disposition in the Irish greatly accelerated the conquests of Cromwell, who, well acquainted with their intestine divisions, though in a late season of the year, marched his army to Wexford, and had hardly sat down before it when Stafford, the governor, gave up the castle on conditions, and thus procured him an entrance into the town *. Rosse, and other places of strength, were no sooner attacked than won; and, to complete the success of the conquerors, all the towns in Munster, garrisoned by the English soldiers under lord Inchiquin †, revolted, and

‡ Such horror had the barbarities committed by the Irish in the beginning of the rebellion, and during the course of the war, impressed on every English breast, that even the humane and gentle Fairfax expressed in warm and severe terms his disapprobation at granting them quarter.

* The military were treated in the same manner as had been those at Drogheda.

† The horse under lord Inchiquin had been prevented in a design they projected, to march in a body to Leinster, to join with Jones, the governor of Dublin. *Carte's Life of Ormond*, vol. II. p. 45.

thus

Ann. 1649. thus secured to them a safe retreat, free passage, necessary provisions, and harbor for their ships. Waterford was next attempted; but as this town was prepared for a vigorous defence, and the season was far advanced, Cromwell, whose army had been in continual action from their first arrival in the country, raised the siege, and retired into winter-quarters.

To avoid that general destruction which the success of the English arms threatened, an union of forces was at length effected between the two bodies of Old and New Irish; whose mutual hatred neither communion in guilt, nor the more powerful bond of common interest, had yet abated. Owen O'Neil had not only refused to acknowledge the peace, but had made a tender of his obedience to, and had actually performed a signal service for, the republic of England, in raising the siege of Londonderry, when it was reduced to extremities by the lord viscount Montgomery of Ardes; and by his success in Munster had occasioned a diversion of part of the marquis of Ormond's forces under lord Inchiquin. But the English Parliament, with a spirit truly heroic, not suffering their justice to give place to their convenience, rejected his services, and censured their officer, Sir Charles Coote *, for the agreement which in his distress he had made with him. Such conduct, with the fate of Drogheda, convinced O'Neil of the necessity of the junction he had before refused, though earnestly entreated by Ormond. A treaty,

* Colonel Monk had before been dismissed the Parliament's service for a cessation he had made with O'Neil. *Borlase*, p. 215.

at the time when Cromwell came before Wex- An. 1649. ford, was concluded, and O'Neil promised to bring his army in a few days to join the lieutenant, whose obstacles in the hopes he had weakly entertained of bringing the different factions in Ireland under his authority † daily encreased. The Scots, though they had made up matters with the King, kept themselves in a separate body, and acted upon the defensive against all parties; and the frowardness of the Irish clergy went such lengths as to tax Ormond with having broken the articles of peace, to send him a public advice to leave the kingdom, to invite the Irish to return to their old association, and at length to excommunicate all those who should adhere to the lieutenant.

Early in the returning spring Cromwell marched out of his winter-quarters, and took Callon, Gouran, Kilkenny, and Clonmell. Whilst he was preparing for a second attempt on Waterford, he was suddenly recalled; and the chief command in Ireland, in the character of deputy, was deposited with commissary-general Ireton, whose valor, activity, and indefatigable industry in the service of the republic, were equalled by few of its citizens and excelled by none. In the hands of Ireton the business of conquest did not languish. The city of Waterford was no sooner invested than reduced *; the fort of Duncannon and the castle of Carlow followed

† Ormond had made some vain attempts on the fidelity of Jones and Sir Charles Coote. *Warner's Hist. of the Rebellion*, P. 451.

* Waterford, with almost every other city of importance in Ireland, refused to suffer the earl of Ormond and his forces to enter.

Ann. 1649. its fate ; Athlone (in the county of Connaught) yielded to Sir Charles Coote and Reynolds ; nor were the English foiled in any attempt they made upon the forts, towns, and cities of the rebels.

During these successes of the enemy, the marquis of Ormond, who (by the sudden death of Owen O'Neil and the entire defeat of the Ulster army under the command of Macmahon, the titular bishop of Clogher) had been totally deprived of the assistance he expected from the native Irish, was reduced to so low a state of power and influence as to be disabled from bringing any thing like the face of an army into the field. Reduced to this situation, and pursued by the imprecations of the clergy, he was at length necessitated to deposit his command in the hands of the marquis of Clanrickard, and to leave the kingdom *.

Fond and stubborn as are the prejudices of vulgar minds to precedent and custom, whatever is sublime in nature or in art is no sooner known than venerated. Governments formed on principles which promise the equal distribution of power and liberty, attach to their service every generous inclination which subsists in the human character : Monarchy, stripped of its trappings, and exposed naked to the eye of reason, becomes odious in the comparison ; partial

* No personal insult could provoke Ormond to lay down his much loved authority, till he was in a manner driven out of the kingdom by the priests. He was even base enough to submit to the discharging, at the instance of the Irish Papists, all the Protestants from the service, to send them out of Ireland, and himself to remain at the head of an entire Popish army.

benefit

benefit is exploded, the generous plan of universal happiness adopted, and common good becomes the common care. Owen O'Neil had shewn so great a partiality to the English Republic, that, despising the large offers of Ormond, he had even given them considerable assistance before he was assured of their protection, and the general earnestness of the Papists to make their peace with the adversary had foiled all the endeavors of the monarchical faction to preserve the dominion of Ireland to the family of the Stewarts. Even when indulged with a Popish governor, in the person of the marquis of Clanrickard, before any alterations in their affairs, or farther losses, it was proposed, in a general assembly of the Irish, to enter into a treaty with the enemy, and surrender all that was left into their hands; and though the hopes of indemnity were frustrated by the resolution of the English not to give any terms which might obstruct the execution of justice, or prevent the intended plan of reformation, their councils continued irresolute and disjointed, and their preparations for defence languid and spiritless.

Whilst confusion, discord, and despair reigned in the quarters of the enemy, Ireton was making, during the winter season, vigorous preparations for an early campaign; and Limeric, the only town of importance still in the hands of the Irish, was in the month of April invested with the whole power of the English army. The inhabitants, though in this extremity, refused the deputy Clanrickard admittance into the town. It had not been besieged three days before they talked of a surrender; and after lord Muskerry, who advanced with

Ann. 1649. a strong party to relieve it, was defeated by a detachment of Ireton's army under lord Broghill, the magistrates and officers met in the town-house, with a resolution to proceed to a treaty which should not be broken off by the exception of any persons from quarter. Vain were the entreaties of the bishops of Limeric and Emly; as vain were their threats that they would excommunicate the citizens if they proceeded in a treaty which would deliver up the clergy to punishment. The resolution was proceeded on, and commissioners for the treaty appointed. The bishops published their excommunication, and a perpetual interdict on the city, if they did not retract; and the governor O'Neil exerting himself against a surrender, colonel Fennell, who had taken shelter in Limeric on betraying a pass at Killaloo to the enemy, obtained the keys from the mayor, and, in combination with other officers, seized on two of the gates, turned the cannon against the town, and gave entrance to two hundred of the besiegers. In this extremity the city, on the following articles (which Ireton had previously offered), surrendered: The soldiers of the garrison were to lay down their arms, with liberty to march whither they would, and the inhabitants had three months time allowed them to transport their persons, and three months more to remove their goods, to any place in the kingdom where the government should appoint them to live. Among the persons excepted from quarter, Hugh O'Neil, the governor of Limeric, was shot; the bishop of Emly was taken and hanged*;

* The bishop of Limeric, in the disguise of a soldier, escaped.

nor could the mayor, who had been instrumental in the surrender of the town, escape the punishment due to former misdemeanors.

The republic of England at this time sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Ireton, who, from the great fatigue he had taken during the siege of Limeric, in a short time after its surrender sickened and died. This illustrious citizen was the son of a private gentleman of Nottinghamshire, and was early in life entered a gentleman-commoner of Trinity-College in Oxford, where, at the age of sixteen, he took a degree in arts, and, according to the custom of the times, completed his education at the inns of court. No sooner were hostilities commenced against the tyranny of the government than Ireton, among the farwardest of intrepid spirits, took up arms, and engaged as a recruiter for the parliament in the county of Westmorland. From the rank of captain he rose to that of a colonel of a regiment of horse, and by the interest of the Independants was made commissary-general of the new-modelled army. His parts and abilities were of that superior nature, that to him alone was consigned the conduct of the opposition against the Presbyterians. He penned all the declarations and remonstrances of the army *; drew up that famous Agreement of the People, the establishment of which was in vain contended for by the Levellers; and to his manly and unconquerable resolution was chiefly owing the justice inflicted on the King, and the abolition of the English monarchy. Ac-

Death and
character of
Ireton.
Ludlow.
Wood's
Ath. Oxon.

* Anthony Wood says, that he was the best preacher and prayer-maker of the army.

Ann. 1649. cording to the unquestionable authority of Ludlow †, Ireton was in private life a firm and affectionate friend; in his public character, the supporter and dispenser of strict and impartial justice ‡, sagacious in council, brave and intrepid in the field, exalted in his sentiments, honest and disinterested in his conduct *, inde-

† Ludlow may be justly deemed an unquestionable authority, because his adherence to principle, and affection to the public, were superior to the partial feelings of domestic or social connection.

‡ Among other instances to be found in Ludlow which illustrate this assertion is the following. Colonel Axtell was accused for not performing some conditions said to have been granted to the enemy; and though the proof was not clear that he had promised them their lives, yet, because it appeared that some of his soldiers had thrown out expressions tending that way, the deputy was so great a friend to justice, even where an enemy was concerned, that, though colonel Axtell was a person extraordinarily well qualified for that conjuncture, he, together with the council of war, suspended him from his employment. *Ludlow*, p. 131.

* "The Parliament, says Ludlow, seeing a period put to the war in England, and that in Ireland drawing towards a conclusion, resolved to gratify such officers as the general recommended to their favor; and thereupon settled one thousand pounds *per ann.* on major-general Lambert; three hundred pounds on major-general Overton; the same on the colonels Pride and Whalley; five hundred pounds on commissary-general Reynolds; one thousand pounds on lord Broghill; four thousand pounds on the lord-general himself, besides the two thousand five hundred pounds formerly granted; and two thousand pounds on the lord-deputy Ireton. The news of this being brought over to Ireland, it was so unwelcome to the deputy that he refused it, saying, They had many just debts, which he desired they would pay before they made such presents; and that he should be more contented to see them doing the service of the nation than so liberal in disposing of their treasure.—Truly, adds Ludlow, I believe the deputy was in earnest; for as he was always careful to husband those things which belonged to the state to the best advantage, so was he liberal in employing his own purse and person in the public service." *Ludlow*, p. 143,

fatigable

fatigable in the public service †, and the warm ^{Ann. 1649.} invariable friend to the liberty of his country. Favorable as is this representation, it must be acknowledged that Ireton's untimely exit, with his domestic connection with Cromwell *, has involved his character in an uncertainty which excludes any determinate opinion on the stability or the excellence of his virtues. But though the anti-republicans, representing conjecture for fact, have loaded his memory with the blackest calumnies, have asserted that the mighty efforts of his genius were exerted for no higher purpose than to render himself the favorite slave of a despot of his own creating, and have painted him as the mere tool of Cromwell's ambition, yet his character is sufficiently marked to manifest to the unprejudiced reader, that if his virtues were not of that sublime nature to forbear the offered possession of supreme power, he had too much elevation of mind to subject himself to a voluntary servitude.

The Parliament of England, in grateful respect to the memory of so faithful a servant, on

† "When I came to Limeric, says Ludlow, I found the deputy grown worse, having been let blood, and sweating exceedingly, with a burning fever on him; yet for all this he ceased not to apply himself to the public business, settling garrisons, and distributing quarters, which was all which remained to be done this year. I endeavored to persuade him, as I had often done before, that his immoderate labors for his country would much impair if not utterly destroy him. But he had so totally neglected himself during the siege of Limeric, not putting off his cloaths all that time, except to change his linen, that the malignant humors which he had contracted wanting vent by perspiration, became confined to his body, and rendered him more liable to be infected by the contagion." *Ludlow*, p. 147.

* Ireton married one of Cromwell's daughters.

Ann. 1649. the intelligence of Ireton's decease, settled on his wife and children, out of the forfeiture of the duke of Buckingham's estate, two thousand pounds *per annum*. The ceremony of his burial, which was very magnificent *, was defrayed at the public expence †, and his body interred at Westminster, in the chapel of Henry the Seventh ‡.

On the decease of Ireton, the chief command of the English forces was conferred (by the appointment of commissioners whom the Parliament, on the return of Cromwell, had sent over to assist Ireton in the transaction of the civil affairs) on Edmund Ludlow, one of the same commission, also one of the body which composed the English council of state, and who, on the death

* His body was pompously conveyed from Bristol to London, where it lay in state for some time in Somerset-House in the Strand, over the gate of which an achievement was placed, with the following motto under his arms: *Dulce est pro patria mori. Wood's Atheneæ Oxonienses...*

† "Some of Cromwell's relations, says Ludlow, who were not ignorant of his vast designs now on foot, caused the body of the lord-deputy Ireton to be transported into England, and solemnly interred at Westminster, in a magnificent monument, at the public charge; who, if he could have foreseen what was done by them, would certainly have made it his desire, that his body might have found a grave where his soul left it, so much did he despise those pompous and expensive vanities; having erected for himself a more glorious monument in the hearts of good men, by his affection to his country, his abilities of mind, his impartial justice, his diligence in the public service, and his other virtues, which were a far greater honor to his memory than a dormitory among the ashes of Kings, who, for the most part, as they have governed others by their passions, so have they themselves been as much governed by them." *Ludlow*, p. 148.

‡ He had a monument erected over his grave, with the effigies of himself and wife. *Wood's Atheneæ Oxonienses.*

of Jones, had been appointed to the military rank Ann. 1649. he held in Ireland §.

The approaching winter of 1651 occasioned delay to the progress of the English arms; but no sooner did the season of the year permit, than Galway, the last town which belonged to the adversary, was invested and taken. The Irish, who, in their desperate situation, had in vain applied to the king of Spain for protection, offered themselves and country to the guardianship of the duke of Lorrain. After they had expended the small supply of money which that prince was enabled to give them *, they were reduced to the last extremities. In this low situation, they repeated their request for a safe-conduct for their deputies to treat on conditions of submission to the new republic; but were answered by the state-commissioners, That the establishment of the nation belonged to the Parliament of England, who would distinguish those who had lived peaceably, or submitted to their authority, from such as had committed and countenanced the murders and massacres of the Protestants in the first year of the rebellion; that they could not grant safe-conducts, but that such as would lay down their arms and submit should be used as favorably as they could justly expect. On this determined answer, colonel Fitzpatrick submitted, with his whole regiment; and notwithstanding

Continuation of the affairs of Ireland, to the total reduction and new settlement of that country.

§ Jones was lieutenant-general of the army, and the governor of Dublin.

* The treaty for putting the kingdom of Ireland under the guardianship of the duke of Lorrain was put an end to by the Stewart faction in that kingdom; and the towns of Limeric and Galway, before they were taken by the English, were pawned for the sum of twenty thousand pounds.

Ann. 1649. he was excommunicated by the clergy, who still hoped for good conditions if the whole nation would stand upon terms, his example was followed by colonel Odwyer, with his brigade, and by the Irish forces in Leinster under the earl of Westmeath. The only force of an army which now remained to the party was under lord Muskerry, who, though intrenched in a place of great strength in the county of Kerry, was by the dexterity of Ludlow in a short time reduced.

When the commission for constituting Oliver Cromwell lieutenant of Ireland was expired *, it was moved by his party in the Parliament, that it might be renewed, and that Lambert should be sent over in the character of deputy. This was so warmly opposed by the true friends to Liberty, as unsuitable to the form and spirit of a republic, that Cromwell waved his pretensions, and the question was carried in the negative. Cromwell, for reasons well known to himself, moved, That the Parliament, though they did not think fit to continue a lieutenant of Ireland, should, in consideration of the merits of Lambert, send him over in the character and with the power of deputy; and even endeavored to persuade that assembly, that the army would not be satisfied unless their commander in chief was so qualified. Cromwell's insinuation was fully refuted by Weaver, one of the state-commissioners for Ireland, who assured the Parliament from his own knowledge, that all the

* The continuance of Cromwell's commission of command over Ireland was for the term of three years. *Thurloe's State Papers.*

sober people in that country, and the whole army (a few factious individuals excepted), were not only well satisfied with the present military and civil establishment, but also with those who had the conduct of it; and moved, that their commission might be extended to a longer time. This motion of Weaver was without effect; but Cromwell had the influence, on Lambert's refusing to go in any other character than that of deputy, to get his son-in-law, lieutenant-general Fleetwood (who had married Ireton's widow), appointed to that command which Ludlow, since the death of Ireton, had with such reputation to himself and advantage to his country executed.

Previous to this appointment the Parliament had passed an act for the confiscation of the estates of the Irish, in proportion to the measure of their crimes; and on Fleetwood's arrival he found the conquest of that country so complete, that, by order of the Parliament, a declaration to such an effect was published, and for permitting the people of England to transport all sorts of grain, cattle, and other necessaries for the new plantation of the desolate parts of Ireland duty-free*; commissions were issued for erecting high courts of justice to try, in the several pro-

* The deputy Clanrickard, after having been reduced to such straits that he durst not remain four-and-twenty hours in a place for fear of being betrayed, was on his request indulged by Fleetwood with a pass, and with liberty to remain in the country for three months without having any oath imposed on him, and then to transport himself whither he pleased. After he had settled his affairs, he retired to England, where he lived unmolested by the government, at his house at Somerhill in Kent. In the year 1657 a natural death put an end to his existence.

vinces,

Ann. 1649. vince, those who had been accused of murdering the English in the first year of the rebellion †; and, to avoid that corruption and damage which had ensued from the intermixture of marriage with the English and the natives, the province of Connaught alone was reserved for the Irish, under the qualifications which had been determined by the Parliament *.

† So many of these massacrists, by the ravage of a ten-years war, military execution, the plague, and other accidents, had been destroyed, and so many had escaped among those who by articles, and by the authority of a proclamation from Cromwell, were permitted to enlist in foreign service, that there was not above two hundred who suffered the punishment due to their crimes; and of these, not above seven or eight were of rank; among whom were the lord Mayo and Sir Phelim O'Neil. Forty thousand of the Irish, by permission of the English government, enlisted in the service of the kings of Spain and France.

* The forfeited lands in the other provinces were divided between the adventurers and soldiers by lot, according to their several claims; part of the church-lands were applied to augment the revenue of the college of Dublin; and the rest, with the remainder of the forfeited lands, viz. the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, and Corke, were reserved to be disposed of as the Parliament should think fit.

In the following lamentation of Clarendon is fully represented the state to which the Irish were reduced by the power of the English Parliament. " Not only all the Irish nation (very few excepted) were found guilty of the rebellion, and so to have forfeited all their estates, but the marquis of Ormond, the lord Inchiquin, and all the English Catholics, and whosoever had served the King, were declared to be under the same guilt, and their land seized upon for the benefit of the state. — The whole kingdom was admeasured; the accounts of the money paid by the adventurers within the time limited, and what was due to the army for their pay, were stated; and such proportions of acres in the several provinces were assigned to the adventurers, officers, and soldiers as were agreeable to the act of Parliament, by admeasurement.—There was a large tract of land, even to half of the province of Connaught, that was separated from the rest by a long and large river, and which

C H A P. II.

Disagreement between the English Parliament and the Scots.—The Scots proclaim Charles Stewart their King by hereditary descent, and offer to submit to his authority on conditions.—The offer of the Scots neglected.—The English Parliament support their power by vigorous measures.—Murder of their agents Dorislaus and Ascham.—Resentment of the Parliament.—Invasion, defeat, and execution of Montrose.—His character.—The king of Scots assents to the conditions imposed on him, and repairs to Scotland.—The English Parliament, alarmed with the proceedings of the Scots, recall Cromwell from Ireland, and prepare an army.—Fairfax refuses to invade the Scots, and resigns his command.—Fairfax is succeeded by Cromwell, who marches a large army into Scotland.—Defeat of the Scots at Dunbar.—Transactions of the Scots.—A large army of the Scots, headed by their king, march into England.—Total defeat of the Scots at Worcester.—The king of Scots flies the kingdom.

THOUGH Cromwell's success in Scotland Ann. 1645 had enabled him to secure to the most inveterate enemies of the late King the full pos-

which by the plague and many massacres remained almost desolate. Into this space and circuit of land they required all the Irish to retire by such a day, under the penalty of death; and all who should after that time be found in any other part of the kingdom, man, woman, or child, should be killed by anybody

Ann. 1649. session of government, yet as that enmity was founded on the narrowest principles of religious bigotry, no sooner were the party acquainted with the downfall of their friends the English Presbyterians; also that the affairs of England were totally influenced by the power of an army of hardened heretics, who, as a fundamental principle of natural Liberty, insisted on the rights of conscience; and that a sinful and ungodly toleration was on the point of being established by law; than the cordiality which had subsisted

body that met them. The land within this circuit, the most barren in the kingdom, was, out of the grace and mercy of the conquerors, assigned to those of the nation who were inclosed, in such proportions as might with great industry preserve their lives. And to those persons from whom they had taken great quantities of land in other provinces, they assigned greater proportions within this precinct; so that it fell to some mens lot, especially when they were accommodated with houses, to have a competent livelihood, though never to the fifth part of what had been taken from them in a much better province. And that they might not be exalted with this merciful donative, it was a condition that accompanied this their accommodation, that they should all give releases of their former rights and titles to the land that was taken from them, in consideration of what was now assigned to them; and so they should for ever bar themselves and their heirs from ever laying claim to their old inheritance. And by this means the plantation (as they called it) of Connaught was finished, and all the Irish nation inclosed within that circuit; the rest of Ireland being left to the English, some to the old lords and just proprietors, who being all Protestants (for no Roman-Catholic was admitted) had either never offended them, or had served them, or had made composition for their delinquencies by the benefit of some articles, and some to the adventurers and soldiers."

The second appearance of Ormond, in the character of the King's lieutenant, till the total reduction and settlement of Ireland by the Republic of England, as related, occupies a period of four years, from the year 1648 to the year 1653.

Clar. Life, vol. II. p. 115, & seq.

between

between the two governments, since the defeat ^{Ann. 1649.} of the Hamilton faction, was on the side of the Scots changed to opposition and bitter altercation. Commissioners were dispatched to protest against any judicial proceedings against the King, and against the toleration of heresy and schism, "Lest the orthodox Presbyterians should (as the commissioners expressed themselves) partake of other mens sins." It was not till after sentence of death had been inflicted on the King, that the English Parliament took any notice of the remonstrances of their Scotch brethren. They then justified the act, as agreeable to the fundamentals of English government, asserted that they would not be limited in their power by the judgment of the Scots, whom they did not attempt to control, but, leaving that people to pursue their inclination in the settlement of their government, were determined to maintain their own liberties as God should enable them. The course, they said, which they had taken towards the late King, and that which they meant to take towards others, the capital enemies of their peace, was that which they hoped would be for the good and happiness of both nations; of which circumstances if the Scots would make use, and vindicate their Liberty and Freedom, they would be ready to give them all neighborly and friendly assistance. Moreover, they earnestly desired them to think seriously before they espoused a quarrel which could bring them no advantage, but entail on themselves and posterities both the miseries of a lasting war, and slavery under a tyrant and his issue.

Disagree-
ment be-
tween the
English Par-
liament and
the Scots.

In Scotland the rank weed of aristocracy had taken too deep root to implant in the envenomed soil

Ann. 1649. soil the generous principles of popular government. The prejudices of the people were against the form of aristocracy, but to part with their power was much more against the inclinations of the nobles. The answer returned to the friendly invitation and advice of the English Parliament was so bitter, abusive, and assuming, that the Scotch commissioners were put under an arrest, “ to secure their persons, the Parliament said, from the violence of the populace, and to restrain them from communication with any by whom the sedition contained in their paper might be promulged.”

The Scots proclaim Charles Stewart their king, and offer to submit to his authority on conditions.

The Scotch parliament not only avowed their commissioners, and complained of the right of nations violated in their persons *, but, that their countrymen might be indulged with tyranny in the accustomed form, they (with the following restriction, That before their King should be admitted to the exercise of his royal power, he should give satisfaction to the kingdom in those things which concerned the security of religion, the unity betwixt the two kingdoms, and the good and peace of Scotland, according to the national covenant and the solemn league and covenant) proceeded to acknowledge and proclaim Charles Stewart, the eldest son of the late King, the heir and successor to the kingdom of Scotland †.

* On their being avowed by their principals, the commissioners were discharged.

† This recognition is too peculiarly worded to be omitted. “ The estates of parliaments, &c. Considering that forasmuch as the King’s majesty who lately reigned is, contrary to the dissent and protestation of this kingdom, removed by a violent death, and that by the Lord’s blessing there is left unto us a righteous heir and lawful successor, Charles prince of Scotland and Wales, now King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland,

We

The immediate fruits of the preposterous ^{Ann. 1649} conduct of the Scots, was the assembling of a large body of Royalists, under Midleton, to put themselves in a condition to serve their King on his arrival; that is, to enable him to break through the restrictions with which his recognition was clogged. The parliament of Scotland found themselves obliged to appoint an army under the command of Lesley, to curb

We the estates of the parliament of the kingdom of Scotland do therefore most unanimously and chearfully, in recognition and acknowledgment of his just right, title, and succession to the crown of these kingdoms, hereby proclaim and declare to all the world, That the said lord and prince Charles is, by the providence of God, and the lawful right of undoubted succession, King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, whom all the subjects of this kingdom are bound humbly and faithfully to obey, maintain, and defend, according to the national covenant and the solemn league and covenant betwixt the two kingdoms, with their lives and goods, against all deadly enemies, as their own righteous sovereign, lord, and king. And because his majesty is bound by the law of God and the fundamental laws of this kingdom to rule in righteousness and equity, to the honor of God, the good of religion, and the wealth of his people, it is hereby declared, That before he be admitted to the exercise of his royal power he shall give satisfaction to the kingdom in those things that concern the security of religion, the unity betwixt the kingdoms, and the good and peace of this kingdom, according to the national covenant and the solemn league and covenant; for which we are resolved with all possible expedition to make our humble and earnest addresses to his majesty. For the justification of all which, we the parliament of the kingdom of Scotland publish this our acknowledgment of his just right, title, and succession to the crown of these kingdoms, at the market-cross at Edinburgh, with all usual solemnities in like cases, and ordain his royal name, portrait, and seal to be used in the public writings and judicatories of this kingdom, and in the mint-house, as was usually done to his royal predecessors, and command this act to be proclaimed at all the market-crosses of the royal burghs, and to be printed, that none may pretend ignorance." *Rapin,* vol. XIII. p. 24.

Ann. 1649. the zeal of the courtiers. The kirk put forth a declaration, That before they would receive their king, though they had declared his right by succession, he should first sign the covenant, submit to the kirk's censure, renounce the sins of his father's house, and the iniquity of his

The offer of
the Scots
neglected. mother; but Charles, having yet hopes of preserving his authority entire in Ireland, and appearing at the head of an army in that country, refused to treat with his new subjects on the terms on which he was to be admitted to government.

The English
Parliament
support their
power by
vigorous
measures. Whilst the infatuated Scots were sowing the seeds of new civil commotions and foreign embroilments, the English Parliament, by resolute and vigorous measures, were endeavoring to establish on a firm basis their government at home, and to render it respectable to foreign states. After the suppression of the Levellers, an act passed declaring it treason to affirm the present government to be tyrannical, usurped, or unlawful; to affirm that the Commons in parliament were not the supreme authority; to endeavor to subvert the present government; to raise mutinies amongst the soldiers; to join with those who invade England or Ireland; to levy war against the parliament; to adhere to their foreign or domestic enemies; or to counterfeit the great seal. An engagement to be true and faithful to the commonwealth of England, as now established without a King or house of Lords, was imposed on all the members of parliament, and all who bore any office, civil, religious, or military, * throughout the English

* The Parliament afterwards passed an act which imposed the same engagement on all men of eighteen years of age. The penalties

dominions ; and Reynoldson, the lord-mayor ^{Ann. 1649.} of London, for having refused to proclaim the act which abolished kingly government, was fined two thousand pounds, turned out of his office, imprisoned for a month, and four other aldermen were disabled. The republican interest in the city had sufficient prevalence to appoint the new magistrates * ; a circumstance which, by establishing the credit of the government, enabled them to borrow of the city one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, at the reduced interest of six *per cent.* † ; and to testify the harmony which existed between the citizens and the reigning powers, they, on the return of the general from the suppression of the Levellers, gave a sumptuous feast to the parliament ‡ ; who, to endeavor to reconcile the people to their actions, to assuage the rage of

penalties of non-obedience were, deprivation of office, and that the defendant in any suit before the law-courts might move an arrest of judgment, or *supersedeas*, to stop all further proceedings, against a non-subscribing plaintiff.

At this time the Parliament altered the style used in the acts and orders of the house ; viz. “ By the Commons in Parliament assembled,” to the following, “ By the Parliament.”

* The act for abolishing kingly government was by the new lord-mayor proclaimed. Two aldermen, Sir Thomas Soames and Chambers, for absence, contrary to the order of Parliament for the attendance of the aldermen on the occasion, were disabled from magistracy, or bearing any office of trust. Soames, who had a seat in the house, was discharged from being a member of parliament.

† The interest was at this time reduced from eight to six *per cent.*

‡ On this occasion the city presented to the lord-general Fairfax a weighty basin and ewer of gold ; and to lieutenant-general Cromwell a service of plate, to the value of three hundred pounds, and two hundred broad pieces of gold. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XIX. p. 130.

Ann. 1649. faction, and the envenomed bigotry of the Papists, Prelatists, and Presbyterians, set forth several declarations, in which, on the principles of the soundest policy, and the experienced slavery of monarchical times, they vindicated their conduct in the new-modelling the government. They promised their countrymen the full possession of their warmest wishes in regard to the establishment of Liberty, the advancement of the true Protestant religion, a settled maintenance for the church, and the prosperity of the interests of England and Ireland. As they had not intermeddled, and did not intend to intermeddle, they said, with the affairs of government of any other kingdom or state, so they did expect the like fair and equal dealing from abroad, and that they who were not concerned would not interpose in the affairs of England; but in case of such an injury, they doubted not, by the courage and power of the English nation, and the good blessing of God, that they should be sufficiently enabled to make a full defence, and maintain their own rights.

Murder of
their agents
Dorislaus
and Ascham.
Clar. Hist.
vol. III.

Among the agents employed by the Parliament to preserve a fair correspondence with the different powers of Europe, Dorislaus (at the Hague) and Ascham (at Madrid) fell a sacrifice to the impious fanaticism of the Royalists*. The

* Ascham was assaulted and killed on his immediate arrival at the Spanish court. The assassins fled for sanctuary to the church. For capital offences the privilege of sanctuary was not in that country allowed; yet by the dilatory proceedings in the determining on the ecclesiastical and civil claims, justice was a long time delayed; and after sentence was pronounced, five of the bloody villains were by the connivance of power allowed to escape. The sixth, who was a Protestant, suffered the punishment of death. Dorislaus was of Dutch extraction,

Parliament not only in high terms demanded of the Dutch and Spaniards immediate justice on the offenders, but, to revenge the death of their servants, and keep by the terror of retaliation that acrimonious party in order, they resolved, that of the Royalist delinquents who had not yet been admitted to composition, six should be speedily proceeded against to trial for their lives *.

Though the Dutch, who regarded with the malignant eye of envy those presages of unbounded empire which attended the infancy of the English Republic, and were by principles of self-defence attached to the royal cause, yet, as that which would bring upon them the particular jealousy of the English parliament, the States had long been uneasy with the residence of the king of Scots;

yet had lived long in England; he was that civilian who had been concerned in managing the charge against the King. Soon after his arrival at the Hague, in the character of envoy from the English republic, he was basely murdered by a party of desperadoes in the marquis of Montrose's train; and though, to preserve the forms of justice, the magistrates issued orders to arrest the assassins, yet their orders were executed with such tardy reluctance, that the criminals had all of them full opportunity to secure their safety by flight.

The English Parliament were so grateful to the memory of Dorislaus that they settled on his son a pension of two hundred pounds a-year, gave five hundred pounds to each of his daughters, and ordered that two hundred and fifty pounds should be laid out, at the public charge, on his interment. Dorislaus was buried with much ceremony at Westminster, and his funeral attended by the speaker and all the members of the council of state.

* The six delinquents nominated for trial on this occasion were, Sir John Stawel, knight of the Bath; Sir John Wintour; Sir William Davenant; David Jenkins, a Welch judge; colonel Walter Slingsby; and captain Browne Bushel. *Parl. Hist.*

Ann. 1650. and after the murder of Dorislaus gave such shrewd hints that it would be necessary for his majesty to remove, that Charles, finding himself obliged to comply with the necessity of the occasion, took a formal leave of the government, and returned to France. Cardinal Mazarine, who, by the favor of the queen-mother, had succeeded Richlieu in the office of prime-minister, was too seriously engaged in defending his person and power against a discontented party at home, to embroil his administration with foreign contention. The king of Scots, therefore, found so little encouragement to make his abode in the French court, that he speedily retired to Jersey, a part of the English empire which still held out against the authority of the new government. At Jersey, Winram, the laird of Liberton, as deputy from the committee of the states of Scotland, gave Charles a pressing invitation to accept, on the proffered conditions, the government of that kingdom; and as the progress of the parliament's arms in Ireland precluded all present hope of the restoration of regal authority, and even rendered it unsafe for him to venture his person in that island, he, as his only resource, began to turn his attention to the offers of his Scotch subjects. A civil answer was given to Liberton, and the town of Breda was appointed for commissioners to meet, and confer with the King on what was necessary to give the Scots satisfaction*. On the arrival of the different

* At the same time that the King assented to a treaty with his subjects the Scots, by which he was to be admitted to power on terms, he set forth a publication, wherein, after a very insolent preamble, asserting, by right of succession, a claim to the crown of England, with all its privileges, rights, and pre-eminences,

parties at Breda, the Scotch commissioners *, Ann. 1650. in the following conditions, delivered to Charles the substance of what had been before offered at the Hague; viz. That he should issue a proclamation, banishing from the court all excommunicated persons; that no English subjects who had served against the Parliament should be permitted to approach him; that he should allow the national covenant of Scotland, with the solemn league and covenant of Scotland, England, and Ireland, and that he should prosecute the end thereof in his royal station; that he should ratify all acts of Parliament by which Presbyterian government, the directory of worship, confession of faith, and catechism, were enjoined; that in civil affairs he should govern himself entirely according to the direction of Parliament, and in ecclesiastical according to that of the assembly. When it was known that the commissioners had no power of treating, but that

heminences, not capable of limitation or bar from any power on earth, he declared he would graciously receive into his royal mercy and protection all persons of his kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, other than such who had voted or acted in the murder of his father. This declaration finishes with a resolution to use every expedient which should be necessary for the suppression of that tyrannical and unjust power now exercised over the people of England. Though the declaration was ridiculously arrogant, it did not satisfy the Cavaliers, who, according to Clarendon, objected to one which had been drawn up at the Hague, because it had a clause which admitted foreign divines into a synod that was to consult on the church of England, and because there were so few excepted from pardon that the King would not have confiscations enough to satisfy and reward his party.

* The Scotch commissioners for the states were, the earls of Cassel and Lothian, the lord Burleigh, Sir George Winram, Sir John Smith, and Mr. Jefferies; for the church, Mr. Brody, Mr. Levilton, and Mr. Wood.

Ann. 1650. Charles must submit without reserve to the terms offered, his English counsellors, who were by those terms excluded from enjoying any share of royal favor, or even the presence of their master, were very warm in their expostulations against his accepting conditions so disadvantageous, they said, and dishonorable. They represented the late King's distresses, and tragical end, as having proceeded principally from those persons who had now the leading influence in Scotland. Nothing could be more disreputable, they asserted, than that the King in his first enterprize, merely for the empty name of royalty, should sacrifice those principles for which his father had died a martyr; that such hypocrisy, though it might hazard the affections of the Royalists, who alone were sincerely attached to his interest, would not gain the Puritans, who were averse to his family and cause, and who would ascribe his compliance to the necessity of his circumstances; that could his Scotch subjects be engaged in the attempt of restoring him to the throne of England, it had appeared, by the event of Hamilton's engagement, how unequal their force was to so great an enterprize; and that, on the first check they received, Argyll and his partizans would sacrifice the King, as an effectual expedient to reconcile themselves to the English Parliament. Thus argued those counsellors whose immediate interest it was to keep their master distant from the advice, and out of the power, of their enemies the Scots. The earl of Laneric (now duke of Hamilton), the earl of Lauderdale, and others who had been banished their country on account of the engagement for the late King, earnestly pressed

pressed Charles to accept the Scotch throne on ^{Ann. 1650.} the conditions required of him. With greater depth of foresight than the English counsellors, they urged, that the national affection in favor of royalty which had produced the King's recognition would, after their prince had entrusted himself to their fidelity, rise sufficiently high in the Scots to relax the rigor of the terms they had imposed on him ; that, however contrary to the present intentions of the ruling party in Scotland, yet the circumstance of admitting the King's government must unavoidably engage them in a war with England ; that in such case, to support themselves against so superior a power, they would be necessitated to accept the assistance of the Royalists, who could then enable his majesty to give the law in his turn, and new-model the government according to the true principles of monarchy.

That duplicity of conduct which this counsel advised was well adapted to the character of the person to whom it was addressed. Of a loose ^{Invasion, defeat, and execution of Montrose.} unprincipled nature, Charles had no religious or moral repugnance to the acting any part which suited the convenience of present circumstances. Whilst keeping up the form of a treaty, he was endeavoring his restoration to authority by the way of arms ; and was actually invading the Scots at the very time he was conferring with their deputies on the terms on which they were willing to submit to his government. Montrose, whose virulence against the liberty of his country his ill success had rather heightened than abated, had accepted of Charles the renewal of his commission of captain-general of Scotland ; and, after concerting measures with

Ann. 1650. with the King at the Hague *, he solicited the Emperor and the courts of Denmark and Sweden for assistance of money, arms, and men. The supplies received from these powers came in slowly, and fell very short of those which the sanguine temper of Montrose had prompted him to expect; but fearing lest the King's necessities should force him to such an agreement with the Scots as should oblige him to revoke his commission, he set out for the Orkneys with no more than five hundred men, whom he had gathered together in the north of Holland and in Germany †.

The little appearance of success which so romantic a project carried, the personal animosity of all parties against Montrose, with the remembrance of the penalties which his mad projects had formerly brought upon them, prevented even the King's best friends from joining him. The committee of estates, who had not forgot his past exploits, thought him formidable enough to oppose with an army of four thousand men, under the command of Lesley; but his fate was soon determined by Strahan ‡, who unexpectedly falling upon him, with a detachment of three hundred horse, either killed or

* Immediately after Charles had assented to a treaty with his subjects the Scots at Breda, he sent a pressing letter to Montrose, to hasten his preparations for a descent in Scotland, "To prevent, he said, if it pleased God to favor him with success, its conclusion." *Rapin*, vol. XIII. p. 35.

† Clarendon says, that it was faith in prophecies and predictions, that he should by his valor recover all the British dominions to the Stewart family, which engaged Montrose in this hazardous enterprise. *Clar. Hist.* vol. III. p. 236, & seq.

‡ Strahan had dispersed the body who had taken arms and gathered together under the command of Midleton,

took

took prisoners his whole party. Himself, Ann. 1650. having put on the disguise of a peasant, was soon discovered, and delivered over to the justice which awaited him.

A total reverse of fortune from success to misery, however criminal may be the object, commonly excites the compassion of the multitude; but Montrose, whilst exposed by Lesley in the same mean habit under which he had disguised himself, every where met with reproaches and execrations. At the eastern gate of the city of Edinburgh he was delivered over by Lesley to the magistrates, who put him into a cart, which had been prepared by the order of parliament, with an high bench, for the people to have a full view of the prisoner. To the bench of the cart he was bound with a cord, drawn over his breast and shoulders, and in this posture, bareheaded, the hangman riding before him with his hat on, and the officers who were taken with him walking two by two, he was conducted through the town to prison. As enthusiasm, whether on mistaken or well-founded principles, is seldom subdued by the rigor of punishment, so the behavior of Montrose, in the hour of severe affliction, neither discovered remorse for his rebellion against the liberty of his country, nor any humiliation of spirit under the sufferance of indignity. To the parliament, when brought before them, he behaved with the utmost insolence *, reproached them with having by plausible pre-

* He told them, that since the King had so far avowed their authority as to enter into treaty with them, he appeared uncovered before their tribunal; a respect which, while they stood in defiance of their sovereign, they should never have extorted from him.

Ann. 1650. texts formerly seduced him to tread the paths of rebellion, and boasted the actions for which he was brought to punishment as heroic exertions, directed by the indispensable duty he owed his sovereign, and in obedience to his sacred commands. Though his enemies, he said, had endeavored to degrade him by studied indignities, yet the justice of his cause would ennoble any fortune. He was sorry that the parliament could find no better testimony of their return to allegiance than the murder of so faithful a subject; nor had he other affliction than to see, in his fate, the authority of his prince treated with so much ignominy. By a like unjust sentence, he joyfully followed his late sovereign, and should be happy if, in his future destiny, he could follow him to the same blissful mansions where his piety and virtue had already, without doubt, secured him an eternal recompence.

Without making any reply to this vaunting harangue, the parliament proceeded to pronounce the following sentence: That James Graham should next day be carried to Edinburgh-Cross, and there, on a gibbet thirty feet high, be hung for the space of three hours: That then he should be taken down, his head be cut off on a scaffold, and affixed to the prison; his legs and arms be stuck upon the four chief towns of the kingdom; and his body be buried in the place appropriated for common malefactors, except the church, upon his repentance; should take off his excommunication. To produce that repentance the clergy endeavored by their exhortations, when the terrors of immediate death it was hoped would soften the mind of the criminal; but such hope was vain: He rejected their offers

offers to pray with him with contempt, and Ann. 1650.
told them, they were a miserable, deluded, and
deluding people, who would shortly bring their
country under the most insupportable servitude
to which any nation had ever been reduced †.
For his part, he was much prouder to have his
head affixed where it was sentenced to stand,
than to have his picture in the King's bed-
chamber; that so far from being sorry that his
legs and arms were to be sent to four cities in
the kingdom, he wished he had limbs enough
to be dispersed into all the cities of Christendom,
there to remain as testimonies of the cause for
which he suffered. The throwing this curious
sentiment into verse was the business which en-
gaged the attention of Montrose, during the few
important hours between his sentence and execu-
tion. When brought on the scaffold, a Latin
book, setting forth his military actions in high
colors of panegyric (which he had caused to be
written by one Wishart, an episcopising Scotch
clergyman, and which his vanity had prompted
him to publish,) was by the hangman tied about
his neck. Montrose, preserving his unconquer-
ed spirit to the last moment, said, he bore that
testimony of his bravery and loyalty with more
pride than he had ever worn the Garter; asked
whether his enemies had any other indignities to
put upon him; and then, after a few minutes
spent in prayer, patiently endured the execution
of his sentence.

Thus a death inflicted on common malefactors, His charac-
with many circumstances of unusual rigor, finish-^{ter.}

† They were indeed in the way to do it, but not by those
principles of conduct which Montrose condemned.

Ann. 1650. ed the romantic course of James Graham, marquis of Montrose; who, fired with resentment at an unexpected flight, from malice, contrary to principle, entered into the conduct of opposition. Excited by envy at the superior influence of Argyll, and flattered with royal cajolment, he broke through his first engagements and oaths, and became one of the most zealous champions for the crown. The mischiefs which, during the sunshine of his fortune, he was enabled to inflict on his country, with those moments of terror which accompanied his success, rendered him the object of very uncommon aversion to the covenanting party in Scotland; as did the arrogance of his pretensions, with the insolence of his manner, of the disgust and jealousy of the Royalists. Malignant as were the principles and vicious the morals of this party, there were very few who would engage in all the villanies proposed by Montrose, or enter into the full extent of his views. The assassination of Hamilton, either from motives of policy or affection, was refused by Charles himself; and the massacre of the Scotch covenanters was rejected with horror by Hamilton. Even when his successful invasion had made him master of Scotland, when the keys of the capital were delivered to him by the magistrates, who on their knees implored forgiveness for their past offences, the very party who had assisted him to conquer were undermining his victory. Struck with fear or envy, they regarded with secret detestation the immediate and future power of a citizen * whose ambitious pretensions

* On the news of Montrose's being in possession of Edinburgh, the late King sent him a commission, constituting him captain-general and deputy-governor of Scotland, with authority

success had well founded, and whose virulent ^{Ann. 1650.} nature was unrestrained either by the rules of honor or the compunctions of virtue. With a pride which could not brook equality in a fellow-subject, Montrose was destitute of every qualification necessary to lead parties ; viz. the knowledge of the human character, dexterity in managing the different tempers and pretensions of men, and sagacity to dive into their counsels. In the very meridian of his fortune, he was betrayed by those he most trusted, and subdued by treachery in the midst of conquest †. The consequences of his short-lived triumph were fatal both to himself and master. It is said, that, contrary to the importunities of his best friends, Charles, in rejecting the parliament's propositions at the Uxbridge treaty, was in a great measure influenced by a letter he received from Montrose, in which he was counselled not to do so unbecoming a thing to his regal character as to en-

rity to make knights and summon parliaments, with other regal powers. Montrose exercised his privilege of knighting on Alexander Macdonald. He appointed a parliament to meet at Glasgow ; but before the time fixed by writ for the parliament's meeting he was entirely defeated and his party ruined.

† Montrose was drawn into those counties of Scotland which join England by the importunities of his supposed friends, the earls of Roxborough and Home, who represented that their friends and followers were unwilling to engage unless Montrose was on the spot. In his march so many different parties, on different pretences, deserted him, that his army was reduced to nine hundred men. At Kelso Montrose expected to have found, with their followers, the earls of Roxborough and Home ; but fell in with David Lesley's army, who entirely defeated him, and who, by connivance of the parties, had taken the forementioned noblemen prisoners. The earl of Traquair, who served in Montrose's army, it is supposed had a hand in his surprisal. *Guthrie's Memoirs*, p. 157, & seq.

Ann. 1650. ter into terms with his rebellious subjects ; in which he was assured, that Montrose was so much master of Scotland, that he doubted not to be able in a few months to march into England to his majesty's assistance with a brave army ; and which concluded with the following expression : " When I have conquered from Dan to Beersheba, as I doubt not I shall very quickly, I hope I may have leave to say as David's general said to his master, Come thou, lest this country be called by my name." The same personal animosity which Montrose had incurred from all parties, no circumstance of convenience or junction of interest could abate. At the Hague, the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Lauderdale, and other Scotch noblemen, though banished their country for their engagement for the late King, when earnestly pressed by their sovereign, refused any communication of council with Montrose *, withdrew from the King's presence when he entered the room, and desired that James Graham, who stood excommunicated by the kirk of Scotland, and degraded and forfeited by the judicatories of that kingdom, might be forbidden the court. In Montrose's second invasion, as in the first, he fell a sacrifice to that universal hatred which pursued him † ; nor can

* Clarendon says, that the king of Scots could as easily have persuaded the Parliament to reject Cromwell as the lords of the engagement to be reconciled to Montrose.

† It was from the principle of personal hatred, rather than of diffidence, that the Gordons, and others of the King's party, refused to join Montrose, though, according to Clarendon, they had encouraged the projected invasion, invited him into the country by the most earnest solicitations, and hastened his coming over without other attendance than of officers, with arms and ammunition, for which, they said, he should find

the rigor of his punishment be justly thought ^{Ann. 1650.} too severe a treatment to a man, who, to fix tyranny on his unwilling country, had twice invaded it with a foreign army, twice drenched it in the blood of his fellow-citizens; and who, when brought to suffer for his crimes, shewed no symptom of penitence or compunction, but to the last maintained his insolent pretensions of restricting their liberties according to the mode of his own opinion. It was in the thirty-eighth year of his age that Montrose paid the tribute due to his accumulated guilt. The success of his arms with great inferiority of numbers, and other as essential disadvantages, entitle him to class in the first rank of generals which the age produced. Proper cultivation of his natural parts might have made him both an useful and illustrious citizen; but the barbarism of knight-errantry taking place of philosophical study, rendered his character as ridiculous as it was hateful *.

find hands enough. The same author, Clarendon, asserts, that they who were the most displeased with Argyll and his faction rejoiced at the fate of Montrose, as an event which would rid them of an enemy they more apprehended; and that the earl of Lauderdale, a great partizan of the present king of Scots, swore with great passion, that though he wished nothing more in this world than to see the king restored, yet he had much rather that should never be than that James Graham, who had been the bitterest and most cruel enemy Scotland ever had, should be permitted to come to court. *Clar. Hist.* vol. III. p. 226, 270, & seq.

* Montrose's panegyrists have allowed him a taste for arts, and judgment in polite literature; but the following bombast epitaph on Charles I. written by him in his second invasion of Scotland, shews his taste in letters as in morals to be equally vicious:

“ Great, good, and just, could I but rate
My grief to thy too-rigid fate,

Ann. 1652. Hurrey, who had first fought on the side of the English parliament against the King, who deserted the parliament and turned to the King, who had abandoned the King and fought on the side of the Scotch covenanters in Scotland, who then deserting the Scotch covenanters had in the two invasions of his country borne a considerable part in Montrose's army, now paid the tribute which had been long due to his reiterated treachery. Nor was the vengeance of the Scotch covenanters satisfied with the punishment of the two principal delinquents: Spotiswood of Daersie, a youth of eighteen, Sir Francis Hay of Dalgetie, and colonel Sibbald, for the same crime of bearing arms against the liberties of their country, underwent a similar fate †.

The king of
Scots con-
sents to the
conditions
imposed on
him, and
repairs to
Scotland.

During these transactions, Charles, after the example of his father, was disputing every point with the Scotch commissioners; but the news of Montrose's death * putting an end to his

I'd weep the world to such a strain
As it should deluge once again;
But since thy case much rather cries
For Briareus' hands than Argus' eyes,
I'll tune thy elegies to trumpet-sounds,
And write thy epitaph in blood and wounds."

† The marquis of Huntley, an inveterate and active malignant, Sir Robert Spotiswood, secretary of state, William Murray, brother to the earl of Tullibardine, colonel Nathaniel Gordon, and Andrew Guthrie, son to the bishop of Murray, for having abetted the marquis of Montrose in his first invasion, and for other offences, had suffered before.

* On the news of Montrose's death, Charles wrote a complaining letter to the Scotch committee of estates. They returned answer, that papers were found on Montrose which it was more for his majesty's honor to have concealed than published. One of the preliminaries insisted on by the Scots when they

hopes of imposing on his new subjects his own ^{Ann. 1650.} terms, he no longer refused their conditions, but setting sail for Scotland, under the escort of seven Dutch ships of war, arrived safe in the Frith of Cromarty. Whatever indulgence the Scots might have shewn their King had his conduct towards them been candid, frank, honest, and unreserved, the commission during their treaty given by him to Montrose, according to a declaration set forth by that commander, to accelerate its conclusion, with the good intelligence the party in power had of Charles's sentiments, excited so high a degree of jealousy, that, before they would suffer him to come on shore, he was required to sign the covenant. None of his English followers, except the duke of Buckingham, were allowed to remain in the kingdom; and Hamilton, Lauderdale, Dumferling, and other noblemen of the faction called Engagers, were, contrary to expectation, dismissed his presence, and obliged to live in a private manner on their own estates, without trust or authority *.

The English Parliament, who had left no arguments untried to prevail with the Scotch

they entered into treaty with Charles was, that he should dismiss Montrose and his actions. *Rapin*, vol. XIII. p. 45.

* If there is any credence to be given to Sir Edward Walker, on the earl of Carnwarth hesitating whether he would obey these orders, Warriston and Cheesley, two of the committee of estates, gave directions to Sir James Balfour, Lyon king at arms, to take the earl, and hang him presently, except he went from court.

The earl of Lauderdale, one of the most noxious of the Engagers, was obliged for some time to conceal himself. The servants the king had brought with him were necessitated to reembark immediately for Holland; and Daniel O'Neil, the Irishman, was prohibited ever to return, under the penalty of death.

Ann. 1650. covenanters to give up the mad project of uniting such contrarieties as the interests of their party with the interests of Charles Stewart, when they found that their treaty with him was likely to terminate in an accommodation, made the necessary preparations for that war which such an event must inevitably produce. Fairfax, who still retained the authority of captain-general of the armies of the Republic, from his moderation of temper, united to an uninterrupted prosperity and acknowledged abilities in the military department, was the only commander to whom enterprizes of importance (which, if attended with success, must necessarily produce acquisition of power, fame, and popularity) could in the infant state of the government be safely trusted: But fighting with the Scots, headed by the natural enemy to the English Republic, was too favorable an opportunity for the active and growing ambition of Cromwell to let slip; whilst the increase of reputation he had gained in Ireland furnished a plausible pretext for his friends and creatures to move, and by the unfortunate difference and rancor between the Independants and Presbyterians easily to obtain,

The English Parliament recall Cromwell, and prepare an army.

his recall from the command in that kingdom, to assist in the management of the military preparations in England. Cromwell was received by the Parliament with all the honors due to a successful general; nor was the gratitude of this assembly wisely tempered with proper precautions against his intriguing selfish nature. On intelligence from Scotland that they had made great levies in that kingdom, and had marched troops to the borders of England, whilst the Royalists were already preparing

to

to raise insurrections, they voted the making ^{Ann. 1650.} of the first attack on their suspected neighbors, and that a new commission should be made out, appointing both Fairfax and Cromwell to the command of their army against the Scots.

The spirited precaution of carrying the war into an enemy's country, and disarming a rival power before it has taken the proper measures for offence, is justified by the policy of all wise governments, and became the dignity of the English state; but in this conjuncture many of its best friends, dreading the influence of Cromwell over the army, and to avoid an expence which must increase taxes already murmured at, were against the precipitating the nation into a war. The whole body of Presbyterians exclaimed against the invading of brethren to whom they were united by the sacred bonds of the covenant; whilst Fairfax, who was of this sect, added to these scruples the disgust he had taken at the parliament's superseding his old commission of captain-general of the English forces, by a new one in which Cromwell was nominated in the command. The friends of royalty have preposterously supposed that Fairfax, contrary to his sentiments and principles, had allowed the army to offer violence to the Parliament, and to put their sovereign to death; but such supposition (though in some measure authorized by his own confession in the Memoirs of his Military Actions, published under the auspices and direction of his son-in-law the duke of Buckingham, when Fairfax had turned courtier to Charles the Second) is contrary to the equal tenor of his conduct during the whole civil contention, and to the following account which his contemporaries

Ann. 1650. give of his character: That though in debate he was slow in delivering his opinions, and patient in attending to those of others, yet after, on mature deliberation, he had fixed his judgment, he adhered to it with an insurmountable inflexibility. Fairfax, though a Presbyterian, was, both in civil and religious subjects, infinitely more liberal in his sentiments than the generality of that sect. He had no objection to the form of a republic, provided the spirit of it was free, and that it was administered with justice; nor to toleration in religion, provided the established forms were Presbyterian. At this time, somewhat disgusted at the entire exclusion of that party out of the civil and religious government of the country, urged by the importunities of an impetuous imperious wife *,

* The following anecdote (taken from Rushworth, and depositions at the trial of colonel Axtell, one of the regicides) will give the reader a just idea of the character of lady Fairfax, who, as a bigoted Presbyterian, had entered into all the prejudices and resentments of the party, and was violently exasperated at the success of the Independants, and the execution of the King. On the first day of the trial, when lord Fairfax's name was called over in the roll of the commissioners, a female voice answered from the gallery, "He has too much wit to be present." When it was declared, that the King was charged in the name of the Commons, and all the good people of England, the same voice returned, "That is a lie; not half, nor a quarter. Where are the people, or their consents? Oliver Cromwell is a rogue and a traitor." Upon this second provocation, colonel Axtell, who was upon guard, ordered a file of musqueteers to present their pieces at that part of the gallery from whence the voice issued, saying, "Down with the whores! shoot them!" When it was known the female who had behaved so indecently was the general's wife, the soldiers desisted; and lady Fairfax, who had concealed herself in a mask, on this discovery retired.

who

who was a narrow-minded Calvinist † and governed by priests, tender of violating the public faith, and angry with the compliment which the Parliament at his expence had paid to Cromwell, he, in a discontented sullen mood, unfortunately dispossessed himself of that power which, whilst in such equitable hands, must have preserved the infant state of Liberty from falling a sacrifice to the greedy and corrupt designs of its less-virtuous partizans.

Fairfax refuses to invade the Scots, and resigns his command.

On the report of Whitlock, one of the commissioners of the great-seal, to the Parliament, that the lord-general did conceive that his former commission was cancelled by the appointment of the new one; that thus being freed from his charge, in regard of his own infirmities and want of health, and in regard of his want of freedom to undertake this service as a new employment, with the greatness and weight of the charge, he humbly desired to be excused, and did intend to signify his mind therein unto the Parliament, it was ordered, that a committee of the council of state should endeavor to remove any scruples which might lay on the lord-general's mind, and persuade him at this important crisis to undertake the desired service. In vain did the appointed committee, which consisted of Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, St. John, and Whitlock, labor to remove the objection urged by Fairfax, that it was unjust and

He is succeeded by Cromwell,

† Whitlock says, and his evidence is confirmed by the Journals of Parliament, that the lord Fairfax seemed at first to like well of carrying the war into Scotland; but afterwards, being hourly persuaded by the Presbyterian ministers, and his own lady, who was a great patroness of them, he declared it was against his concience.

Ann. 1650. unlawful, without sufficient cause given, to invade a people to whom the English were joined by a national league and covenant; in vain did they urge that the bonds of that covenant had been already cancelled by the invasion of the Scots under the command of the duke of Hamilton, directed by the order and authority of the parliament of that kingdom; in vain did they urge that the Scots, by their refusing to acknowledge the English government, and accusing the English with breach of treaty for exerting the right inherent in every society, viz. the establishing what form of government was most agreeable to themselves, without asking the consent of a foreign nation, with their extraordinary preparations of men and money, did give just cause to believe that they intended another invasion; in vain did they urge the conveniency of being beforehand with an hostile neighbor, and carrying the war into the bowels of an enemy's country rather than waiting to receive it in their own. Fairfax, still pleading tenderness of conscience, remained stedfastly fixed to his determination of not accepting the command; whilst Cromwell, who was well acquainted with the inflexible obstinacy of his temper, ventured to solicit him with the utmost earnestness, and carried his grimace such a length as to shed tears on the occasion *. To

* "On the unwillingness, says Ludlow, of the lord Fairfax to alter his opinion, Cromwell pressed that they would continue him to be general of the army, professing for himself that he would rather chuse to serve under him in this post than to command the greatest army in Europe; but the council of state not approving that advice, appointed a committee of some of themselves to confer farther with the general, in order to his satisfaction. This committee was appointed upon the motion

the great regret and apprehensions of the real ^{Ann. 1650.} and the sensible friends of Liberty, who, through the dark veil of Cromwell's hypocrisy, had sufficient discernment to discover his vicious aim, and who had full confidence in the lord-general's virtues, Fairfax resigned his commission, and Cromwell was appointed captain-general of all the forces in England. Thus a command of such importance in a republic, which had hitherto and yet stood entirely by the power of arms, was entrusted to its concealed but most daring and dangerous enemy *.

In the beginning of the month of July, after whom marched a large army into Scotland. the Parliament, with intent of removing the scruples of the Presbyterians, had issued a declaration † containing their grounds and reasons.

motion of the lieutenant-general, who acted his part so to the life that I really thought him in earnest; which obliged me to step to him as he was withdrawing with the rest of the committee out of the council-chamber, and to desire him that he would not, in compliment and in humility, obstruct the service of the nation by his refusal: But the consequences made it sufficiently evident that he had no such intention." *Ludlow*, p. 121, & seq.

* On the Parliament's appointing Oliver Cromwell commander in chief of their forces, they settled on the lord Fairfax a revenue of five thousand pounds a-year.

† In this declaration the Parliament notice the aversion to amity and friendship with the English Republic manifested by the Scots; they notice the transactions of 1648, and the assistance the governing party received from the English army when in Scotland, now returned with an endeavor to exercise that power for the destruction of those by whose means they did receive it; and they tax the Scots with not only promising their king assistance against England, but with the proclaiming him King of England and Ireland. In a second declaration, published on the army's march into Scotland, and addressed to all who were saints and partakers of the faith of God's elect in that kingdom, they remind the party, that though they are very acrimonious in their censures of the force put on the Presbyterian parliament

Ann. 1650. for the intended invasion, Cromwell marched his forces, to the amount of sixteen thousand

parliament at Westminster, a committee of estates, sitting by commission of the Scotch parliament, was broken and driven away by force raised and actuated by them. " Not that we seek, says the declaration, to justify our actions by yours, but to shew that you have done the same things for preservation of Religion and Liberty." " Are we to be dealt with as enemies, farther expostulates the Parliament, because we come not your way? Is all religion wrapt up in the Presbyterian or any other form of government? Doth that name or thing give the difference between those who are the members of Christ and those who are not? We think not so. We say, Faith working by love is the true character of a Christian; and God is our witness, in whomsoever we see any thing of Christ to be, there we reckon our duty to love; waiting for a more plentiful effusion of the spirit of God to make all those Christians who, by the malice of the world, are diversified, and by their own carnal-mindedness do diversify themselves, by several names of reproach, to be of one heart and one mind, worshipping God with one consent. We are desirous, that those who are for the Presbyterian government should have all freedom to enjoy it; and are persuaded, if it be so much of God as some affirm, if God be trusted with his own means, which is his word, working powerfully and effectually when preached without a too-busy meddling with or engaging the authorities of the world, it is able to produce and establish his purposes concerning the government of his church." After giving the Parliament's reasons for bringing the late King to justice, the declaration farther says, " Is there not now just cause for all good men with you to fear, that one so bred, so engaged, and interested as is your king, and merely in such a way coming to you, doth but watch his opportunity, till, by his influence upon your army, which you know how is composed, he may gain his ends upon you? And how likewise the generality of the people of Scotland are affected is not unworthy of your most serious consideration." In a third declaration to the Scots, published by Cromwell, he appeals to his conduct, when in their country two years before, to refute the reproaches cast upon himself and army, and assures the gentry and commonalty, that he will not offer the least violence to their persons, goods, and possessions. What Cromwell promised in this declaration, he, during his whole stay in Scotland, very exactly performed. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XIX.

men,

men, into Scotland. Nor had the Scots been Ann. 1650. deficient in the necessary preparations to meet the hostile visitation. An army under the command of Lesley, to the amount of twelve thousand men, lay intrenched in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith. On the near advance of Cromwell, Lesley, who avoided meeting that experienced and successful commander in battle, endeavored by skirmishes and small encounters to exercise the valor and confirm the spirits of his less-disciplined and less-assured army, and by a strict adherence to a conduct thus wise and cautious, his forces increased both in number and courage.

Such were the difficulties in which the Scotch Puritans had involved themselves, that, whilst they on one side asserted their solemn league and covenant against the power of the English army, they had to guard against a more formidable attack from its natural enemies, their newly-declared sovereign and his adherents. Four thousand malignants and Engagers, with the King, who had endeavored to gain the soldiery by exerting himself in military action, were required to leave the camp; and the King having refused to give any public testimony of the sincerity of his newly-adopted principles, the general assembly, and after their example the committee of estates, with the army, set forth declarations, in which they protested that they did not espouse any malignant quarrel or party, but strictly adhered to and fought on their former grounds and principles. They disclaimed the guilt of their sovereign and his house; they asserted they did neither own him nor his interest, otherwise than in subordination

to

Ann. 1650. to God, and as far as he owned and prosecuted his cause, and acknowledged the sins of his house and his former ways *.

Charles, after having taken a covenant which he did not believe, and solemnly sworn to preserve what on the first opportunity he intended to destroy, on finding that private protestations, without the required testimony of his sincerity, would not satisfy the covenanters, at length assented to the following, yet more notorious, act of consummate dissimulation. He gave thanks, in a public declaration, for the merciful dispensations of Providence, by which he was recovered out of the snare of evil counsel, by which he had attained a full persuasion of the righteousness of the covenant, and by which he was induced to cast himself and his interest

* These declarations were sent by Lesley to Cromwell, the English general, with a desire that they might be made known to all the officers under his command. Cromwell complied with the request, and returned the following answer: " Under pretence of the covenant, mistaken and wrested from its intent and equity, a king is taken in by you, to be imposed on us, and this called the cause of God and the kingdom ; together with a disowning malignants, though this your king is at the head of them ; hath a Popish party fighting for him in Ireland ; hath in his service Prince Rupert, whose hands have been deep in English blood, and is now at the head of ships stolen from us on a malignant account ; hath French and Irish ships daily making depredations on our coasts ; and hath issued out commissions to raise armies in the bowels of our country. How the interest you pretend to have received this man upon, and the malignant interest in the ends and consequences centering in him, can be secured we cannot discern ; nor yet understand how, whilst known malignants are fighting and plotting against us on the one hand, and you declaring for him on the other, it should not be an espousing of a malignant party, quarrel, or interest, but a fighting upon former grounds and principles, and in the defence of God and the two kingdoms."

wholly

wholly upon God. He desired to be deeply ^{Ann. 1650.} humbled and afflicted in spirit, because of his father's following evil counsel, his opposing the covenant with the work of reformation, and shedding the blood of God's people through all his dominions. He lamented the idolatry of his mother, and the toleration of it in his father's house; "a matter of great offence, he said, to all the Protestant churches, and great provocation to him who was a jealous God, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children." He professed he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant; that he detested Popery, superstition, prelacy, heresy, schism, and prophaneness, and was resolved neither to countenance nor tolerate any of them in any of his dominions. He declared, that he would never favor those who had so little conscience as to follow interest in preference to the Gospel and kingdom of Christ. He avowed himself convinced in conscience of the exceeding great sinfulness and unlawfulness of the treaty of peace made with the bloody Irish rebels; and, declaring the same to be void, desired to be deeply humbled before the Lord for having sought such unlawful help for the restoring him to the throne. He resolved for the time to come rather to chuse affliction than sin *; and expressed his

* At the same time when Charles signed this declaration, he assured the dean of Tuam in Ireland, that he was a true friend to the church of England; that he would continue firm to his father's principles; that the marquis of Ormond was the man on whom he depended more than on any one living; that though he was afraid the declaration he had been forced to sign might prejudice him, yet, as he could do nothing of that kind without the advice of his council, which he had not about him, it could not be binding on Ireland; and that he

Ann. 1650. hope, that, whatever ill success his former guilt might have drawn on his fortunes, yet now, having obtained the mercy to be on God's side, and to acknowledge his own cause to be subordinate to that of his Creator, Divine Providence would crown his arms with success.

The late unhappy Charles, by Jesuitical subterfuge, attempted to preserve in his dissimulation an appearance of honesty; his less-tenacious son scrupled not to cover intentions equally pernicious with a guise of falsehood which discarded any pretension to the honor of character, yet had not sufficient craft to conceal from Argyll a profligacy in principle which forbade reliance on the temporary compliance of his conduct, and the solemnity of his oaths and protestations. The Scotch covenanters (more to satisfy their brethren the English Presbyterians, whom the Parliament had endeavored to persuade that the Scots swerved from principle when they admitted the sovereignty of Charles Stewart, more than with any hopes of security from new bonds laid on his conscience) prepared for him a trial yet more awful and mortifying than the former. Instead of the ceremony of a coronation, which was at this time delayed, it was resolved, that he should pass through a public humiliation, and do penance before the people *.

was resolved wholly to be governed in the affairs of that kingdom by the lord Ormond.

* The king was to acknowledge twelve articles of repentance, in which were enumerated the sins of his father and grandfather, and the idolatry of his mother; and in which were declarations that he sought the restitution of his rights for the sole advantage of religion, and in subordination to the kingdom of Christ.

Whilst

Whilst the Scotch covenanters endeavored, Ann. 1650. by the exacting such public monuments of the king's insincerity, to impose on themselves and others, Lesley (their general) maintained in the field his superiority of situation over Cromwell. In the counties of Mersse and the Lothians, every thing which could serve to support the English army had been removed; and Cromwell, having neglected the precaution of bringing by sea a sufficient quantity of provisions, found himself reduced to great difficulties, and retired to Dunbar. Hither he was followed by Lesley, who, after taking possession of the difficult passes which lay between Berwick and Dunbar, encamped on the heights of Lammermure, which overlook that town. Cromwell, brought to extremities, was on the point of sending to England by sea all his foot and artillery, and of attempting to break through the enemy's army with his cavalry, when the folly and madness of the Scotch ecclesiastics turned his disgrace to honor, and his despair to triumph. Full of confidence in the fancied superiority of their cause, full of the high favor they stood in with the Almighty, and unwilling to suffer the invaders to escape with impunity, these military priests pretended to have received revelations that the sectarian and heretical army, along with Agag their general, were by God devoted victims to their vengeance; and, on the strength of such assurances, forced their general to descend from a situation which secured him conquest, to fight for victory with unequal arms. Whilst Cromwell through a perspective-glass was viewing the Scotch camp, he observed their unexpected motion, and joyfully crying out,

Defeat of
the Scots at
Dunbar.

Ann. 1650. out, “ The Lord hath delivered the enemy into our hands,” gave orders for an immediate onset. Neither superiority in numbers, the fumes of enthusiasm, nor the rage of bigotry, could enable the Scots to stand the shock of Cromwell’s veterans. They were put to flight as soon as attacked, and pursued with great slaughter. More than four thousand Scots were slain in the flight and on the field of battle; ten thousand were taken prisoners, among whom were many officers of note *; and all their colors, artillery, arms, ammunition, tents, and baggage fell into the hands of the enemy †.

The Puritanical part of the Scotch covenanters had put themselves into so whimsical a situation,

* In the list of officers taken prisoners were, the lieutenant-general, three colonels, eleven lieutenant-colonels, nine majors of horse and foot, forty-seven captains of horse and foot, seven captain-lieutenants of horse and foot, one adjutant-general, seventy lieutenants of foot, twelve cornets, four quarter-masters of horse, and seventy-eight ensigns.

† When the account of this victory was brought to the Parliament, they resolved, That the council of state should take measures for the prosecuting the war in Scotland in the most effectual manner; that all the colors now brought up from the Scotch army, together with those taken at Preston when they invaded England in 1648, should be inventoried, with their respective mottos and devices, by the clerk of the Parliament, and hung up on each side of Westminster-Hall; that the council of state should prepare a letter to be signed by the speaker and sent to the lord-general, with the Parliament’s special acknowledgments; and that in the same letter the lord-general should be desired to give their thanks to the officers and soldiers of his army. It was farther resolved, that a number of gold and silver medals should be distributed among them; gratuities in money were voted to the several messengers who brought the news; a thanksgiving-day, according to the custom which the Parliament had constantly used on similar occasions, was appointed; and orders as usual given to publish a narrative of the victory. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XIX. p. 352, & seq.

that

that their defeat at Dunbar afforded equal matter of triumph to, and inspired with equal presumption, those to whom they were united as friends as to their declared foes the English Independants. Notwithstanding their clergy published a declaration, in which they ascribed their misfortunes to the following causes; viz. The yet-unrepented provocations of the King's house, the secret intrusion of malignants into his family and even into the camp, the permitting a malignant and profane guard of horse to fight in the army, with the owning the king's quarrel by many without subordination to Religion and Liberty; yet the party were obliged not only to allow Charles more authority than they had hitherto done, but to apply to him for support *. The Parliament, which met at St.

* According to Sir Edward Walker, the loss of the victory at Dunbar had brought the governing party in Scotland into such disgrace with the people, that, besides the western forces, they could not, without the assistance of the king and his friends, raise above five thousand men. The king (too impatient with a restraint which prevented the full indulgence of those sensualities to which he from Nature and education was much inclined), by the assistance of one Frazier, a clergyman, soon after the defeat at Dunbar, had made his escape from Argyll, and fled towards the Highlands, with the intent of putting himself at the head of a party of Royalists, commanded by general Midleton. Colonel Montgomerie, with a troop of horse, overtook the fugitive monarch, and brought him back. But this conduct, instead of provoking the Scotch covenanters to accept the cordial invitation of reuniting themselves to the English government (a step to which they were generously invited after their defeat at Dunbar), engaged them to run the dangerous risk of trusting their foward monarch with authority, in order to keep him in temper, and to an union of forces, to avoid certain ruin, for the Royalists under Midleton had attacked and defeated a party of their troops under Sir John Browne. The king's flight afforded the English Parliament full matter for severe animadversion on the whimsical politics of

Ann. 1650. John's Town, took off the restrictions which had been laid on the faction of the Engagers, who, on condition of doing public penance, and expressing repentance for their late transgressions, were admitted to the camp and court †; and the king's humiliation and penance were changed into the ceremony of a coronation, performed at Scone, January the first, with great pomp and magnificence.

Ann. 1651.
Transac-
tions of the
Scots.

The approach of the winter season, and an ague which seized Cromwell, prevented him from pursuing the advantages gained by the victory at Dunbar. The pass at Stirling still remained in the possession of the enemy, who, as soon as the season would permit, assembled an army, over which Hamilton (notwithstanding the approved abilities of Lesley) was superior in command *, and the king was allowed to make his abode in the camp in the character of general; arrangements which gave such disgust to the inhabitants of the western counties, that

their old colleagues the Scotch covenanters; who, with a pertinacious obstinacy, in opposition to reason, interest, and safety, adhered to the unpromising plan they on the late King's execution had adopted.

† Clarendon says, that the king, by his frequent conferences with the knights and burgesses, got any thing passed in this parliament which he desired; that he caused many acts to be repealed; that he provided for the raising an army, whereof himself was general; and that no exceptions were taken to those officers who had formerly served the King his father.

Clar. Hist. vol. III. p. 308.

* The Royalists had at this time so much the upper hand of the covenanting party, that Lesley was not only superseded in his command by Hamilton, but was charged by that party with treachery at the battle of Dunbar, and required by the king's council to give in a circumstantial account of the conduct of that day.

they

they refused to join an army who had so far departed from principle as not only to admit of their assistance, but to be governed by Engagers and malignants †; and assembling themselves together, they kept in a distinct body under the command of an officer named Ker *. Defended by strong intrenchments in the front, and by the town of Stirling in the rear, the king of Scots lay with his army encamped at Torwood; and as his generals steadily adhered to the conduct which Lesley, whilst it was in his power, had kept the last campaign, Cromwell in vain attempted to decoy them into an engagement. After many fruitless temptations, the English general, with the intention of cutting off provisions from the Scotch army, sent a detached party, under Lambert, over the Firth into Fife. Lambert, by defeating a strong body of the Scotch under Holbourne and Browne, got possession of all the passes on the Firth, and thus secured a safe passage for the whole army, who, by getting between the enemy and the northern provinces (where lay their chief strength, and on whom they depended for provision), rendered it unsafe for them to keep their post any longer.

† Both the Scotch and English Royalists were now taken into the military service. The English were commanded by that turbulent Presbyterian Massey, who, with eighty other officers, set forth a declaration shewing their reasons for taking up arms in the kingdom of Scotland, and admonishing all conscientious Presbyterians not to apostatize from their first principles, and engage with the rebels at Westminster.

* This party, who had protested against the resolution of the Parliament to receive the faction of Engagers into employ, went under the denomination of the Protesters; the party who acquiesced were called Resolutioners.

Ann. 1651. Cromwell now flattered himself that he had
A large army reduced the Scots to the necessity of fighting ;
of the Scots, but availing themselves of the hazardous alter-
headed by native he had left them, they, to his infinite
their king, rose up from their camp, and, to the
march into number of fourteen thousand men, advanced
England. by great journies towards England. Cromwell,
though surprized, was not dismayed at the
unexpected motion of the Scots. He sent direc-
tions for the assembling forces in the northern
counties of England, to oppose the invaders ;
he dispatched Lambert, with a body of cavalry,
to hang upon their rear, and interrupt their
march ; he left seven thousand men under the
command of Monk, to complete the reduction
of Scotland ; himself, with the rest of the army,
followed the king with all possible expedition ;
and to erase any ill impression which the Eng-
lish Parliament might have taken from his suf-
fering them to be thus exposed to danger, he
sent letters to excuse his conduct, on the reason,
that if the government did their parts in keep-
ing the king in play, and defending the tenable
passes, his whole army would infallibly be ruined ;
whereas it was possible, that a winter's
campaign in Scotland might have ruined that
of the Parliament, by reason of the hardiness
of the natives beyond the English in enduring
fatigues and hardships. What Cromwell had
thus, to vindicate his military conduct, and
exalt the spirit of his countrymen, prophesied,
proved exactly true : Charles, on his arrival in
England, found himself entirely disappointed
in the hopes he had entertained that all his
friends, and all those who were discontented
with the present government, would flock to
his

his standard. The English Presbyterians were ^{Ann. 1651.} unprepared to engage in so sudden and unexpected an adventure, and likewise were disgusted with the king's refusing any declaration in favor of the covenant to be published under his authority; whilst the Royalists, though more zealous and alert, were deterred from joining the Scotch army by orders which the committee of ministers had issued, that none should be admitted who did not subscribe the covenant *. From these and other adventitious causes, the number of recruits were so insignificant, and so many of the Scots (either on political reasons disliking the expedition †, or terrified with the danger of engaging in so hazardous an enterprize as the invading England with an English army at their back) had deserted during the march, that when the king with his harrassed forces arrived at Worcester, he found them not more numerous than when he rose from his camp at the Torwood.

* Charles took upon him to contradict this order by his own authority; but as it came too late to serve him with the Royalists, so it encreased the jealousy of the Presbyterians.

† The expedient of marching into England was disliked in general by the Presbyterians, was the offspring of royalist counsel, and, according to the following letters, was executed merely by Royalists. The duke of Hamilton, in a letter to Mr. William Crofts, writes, " All the rogues have left us; I shall not say whether for fear or disloyalty; but all now with his majesty are such as will not dispute his commands." Lord Wentworth writes to the same, " Our army is as absolutely at the king's command as much as any army that I ever saw under the command of his father. I am now in an army where our friends are together, and where you are many times remembered the times are well changed since this time twelve months."

Ann. 1651. Whilst Fortune thus confounded the designs of the enemy, and turned their presumptuous hopes into despair, the diligence used by the Parliament to defeat the invasion was attended with the happiest success. There were of every faction in the nation, the Royalists excepted, who voluntarily took up arms in defence of the present government against the pretensions of the king of Scots. Ludlow says, that some of the excluded members appeared on this occasion, and that so affectionate were the people in general to the commonwealth, that, in the opinion of many, the volunteers were sufficient in number to have beaten the Scots without the assistance of the army.

Among the few desperadoes who abetted the fortunes of Charles Stewart, the earl of Derby, who had hitherto preserved the Isle of Man, and both by sea and land carried on war against the power of the English Republic, was by the Royalists the most depended on. At the time when the Scots entered England, Derby, at the head of fifteen hundred horse, made a descent on Lancashire; but, before he had collected any considerable addition to his forces, was near Wigan attacked and defeated by colonel Lilbourn. Himself was wounded in the engagement, and escaping to Worcester, with not above thirty horse, carried the fatal presage of the succeeding event *.

Total defeat of the Scots at Worcester. The question whether Charles should march without delay to the capital had been debated

* According to Whitlock, the king, seeing his hopes in the earl of Derby frustrated, would have marched away with his horse, when the foot mutinied, and insisted that the whole army should endure the same fortune. *Whitlock.*

in council; but the interruption which Lambert ^{Ann. 1651.} occasioned by posting himself on the London road, the harrassed condition of the troops, the near approach of Cromwell, with the cordial affections of the city of Worcester (the last town which surrendered to the Parliament, and now opened its gates to receive the king †), inclined him to wait there those opportunities which the several expected insurrections in his favor might afford. Either from neglect or want of time, the necessary precautions to defend the town had not been taken by the Scots before intelligence was received, that the formidable Cromwell, whose army on his march had been reinforced with parties from all quarters, was within half a day's journey. It was now too late to begin works of fortification. Cromwell on his arrival lost no time in making proper dispositions for the attack, by securing a pass for his troops over the Severn; and on the third of September, the anniversary of the Scots' defeat at Dunbar, when the Essex, Cheshire, and Surry militia (supported by strong bodies of regulars), to the number of forty thousand, were come up, he charged the Scots on all sides. The Scots, after an engagement of a few hours, were driven back into the town, with such confusion that the entrance was left open to the enemy. The cavalry, who had kept out of the action, with Lesley at their head, fought their safety by flight, and left the infantry at the mercy of the vanquishers.

† Charles had, before his arrival at Worcester, attempted the fidelity of the governor of the town of Shrewsbury; but was answered with becoming spirit and integrity. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XX. p. 26, & seq.

Ann. 1651. In this action the whole Scotch army, a few
The king of individuals excepted (for the cavalry were over-
Scots flies taken before they reached Lancashire) were
the king- either killed or taken prisoners *. Among the
dom. principals in the last denomination were the
duke of Hamilton †, general Lesley, the earls
of Derby, Cleveland, Lautherdale, Ruthen,
Carnwarth, and Kelly, viscount Kinmuir, the
lord Spynie, Sir John Packington, Sir Ralph
Clare, Sir Charles Cunningham, general Middle-
ton, Fanshaw (secretary to Charles), seven
colonels of horse, thirteen of foot, nine lieu-
tenant-colonels of foot, six majors of horse, thir-
teen of foot, thirty-seven captains of horse, and
seventy-two of foot ‡. Charles Stewart, the
duke of Buckingham, and a small number of
more fortunate adventurers, eluded the search
of the enemy, and fled the kingdom.

* The common men who were taken prisoners, both at this battle and in the battle of Dunbar, were sold for slaves to the planters in America.

† The duke of Hamilton died of his wounds the day after the defeat.

‡ Mafsey, the Presbyterian who had preserved Gloucester for the Parliament against the late King, accompanied the king of Scots in this invasion. He was wounded and taken prisoner, but afterwards made his escape.

C H A P. III.

Total reduction of Scotland.—Second high court of justice.—Naval affairs.—The refractory colonies, with the isles dependant on England, subdued.—The power and wisdom of the Parliament.—Fruitless embassy to the United Provinces.—The rise and progress of the Dutch war.—Successes of the Parliament.—They refuse to enter into terms of accommodation with the Dutch.—Scotland incorporated with the English commonwealth.—Extended views of the Parliament.—State of England under their government.—Power and influence of Cromwell.—The villainy of his intentions.—His endeavors to undermine the power of the Parliament.—Their economy, just government, and growing popularity.—Cromwell's successful intrigues with the army.—The forced and fatal dissolution of the Parliament.

THE total overthrow of the monarchical Ann. 1651; Total reduc-
tion of Scotland. interest in the defeat of the Scots at Worcester, was immediately followed with the further triumphs of the Parliament in the no-less-decisive successes which attended their arms in Scotland. Stirling-Castle, though well provided for defence, made an early surrender. Dundee, a town so well fortified that within its walls, as in a place of safety, were deposited all the riches of the country, was taken by assault. Monk, following the example and instructions of Cromwell, put all the inhabitants to the sword.

Ann. 1651. sword. The cruel policy succeeded; a general terror struck the kingdom. Its towns and forts of their own accord made prompt submissions; and, except a few Highlanders who continued in arms under Argyll and under royalist leaders, the whole nation was reduced to an entire subjection *. Thus Scotland, which, through all ages, had maintained its independance against the fraud and force of the English and French monarchs, became a conquered province to a government whose friendship it had foolishly rejected, and whose superior policy it had ignorantly despised.

Second high
court of
justice.

Whilst a Scotch invasion threatened the peace of the country and the safety of the government, an extraordinary exertion of power was thought necessary to keep the two parties of Royalists and Presbyterians in order. A second high court of justice was erected; several turbulent individuals, who had accepted commissions from the king of Scots, and had entered into idle plots to second his invasion, were tried, condemned, and received sentence of death. The earl of Derby, Sir Timothy Featherstonehaugh, Benbowe, and other capital offenders, taken prisoners at and after the battle of Worcester, suffered the same punishment from the authority of a court-martial †.

* The records of the kingdom, with the crown and scepter, taken in the town of Stirling, were sent to England.

† Among the individuals who suffered death from a sentence of this court was one Christopher Love, a Presbyterian minister, who at Uxbridge had highly offended the royal commissioners by publicly preaching, in warm and passionate language, against the expediency of entering into any treaty with the King. *Clarendon. Parl. Hist. State Trials.*

The Parliament, attentive to the security, the ^{Ann. 1651.} interests, and the glory of their government, ^{Naval af- fairs.} had early found it necessary to strengthen their naval force, the natural power of the empire. The Admiralty was taken out of the hands of the earl of Warwick *, and put into commission ; and a strong fleet fitted out under the command of Blake, Popham, and Deane.

Dunkirk and Ostend swarmed with privateers, who acted under the authority of the king of Scots ; whilst the squadron under prince Rupert (who on the Irish seas and in its harbors had resided from the time when the fleet was carried away from Holland) continually made prizes of English vessels. The business of exterminating this pirate was committed to Blake, the same invincible commander who, in circumstances regarded as desperate, had defended Lyme and Taunton from the power of the late King. Rupert escaping from Kinsale, where Blake had attempted to block him up, fled towards the coast of Spain, and from thence, by the express invitation of the king of Portugal, who had shewn great inveteracy to the government of England, and great partiality to the excluded family, he sailed to Lisbon and took shelter in the Tagus. The Parliament, fired with resentment at the conduct of the Portuguese, ordered Blake with a strong squadron to sail to the coast of Portugal, to demand, that prince Rupert, with his fleet, should be given up, and in case of denial to proceed to hostilities.

* The earl of Warwick was a violent Presbyterian, and at this time greatly offended with the ruling powers, on account of the fate of his brother, the earl of Holland.

Ann. 1651. The king of Portugal obstinately adhering to his resolution of defending prince Rupert, Blake, with the assistance of Popham, who had been cruising on the coast of Spain, set upon, defeated, and destroyed the whole Brazil fleet. This engagement, which happened a few leagues off Lisbon, afforded Rupert the opportunity of escaping; but losing a great part of his squadron on the coast of Spain, he with the remainder set sail towards the West-Indies. In this voyage his brother Maurice was shipwrecked; and Rupert, after subsisting some time by privateering on English and Spanish vessels, returned to France. The remnants of his fleet were sold for the use of his cousin Charles Stewart.

The refractory colonies, with the isles dependent on England, subdued.

Of the settlements in America, all but New-England (which had been planted by the friends of Liberty, who had fled from the tyranny of past times), even after the death of the King, and the establishment of the Republic, adhered to the Stewart interest. The care of reducing these refractory colonies (viz. Bermudas, Antigua, Virginia, and Barbadoes) was committed to Sir George Ayscough. The three first submitted as soon as attacked; the last, commanded by lord Willoughby of Parham, made some resistance, but was with little difficulty subdued. Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man, were about the same time brought under the power of the republican empire; and the seas, which had been much infested with privateers, by the reduction of these islands, and the naval power of the Parliament, were now rendered entirely safe to the English commerce.

Never

Never did the annals of Humanity furnish ^{Ann. 1651.} the example of a government, so newly established, so formidable to foreign states as was at ^{Power and wisdom of the Parliament.} this period the English commonwealth. To republics the object of envy, to monarchs of hatred, to both of fear, it was assiduously courted by all the powers of Europe. London, was full of ambassadors, to endeavor for their respective superiors to excuse past demerits, to renew former treaties, and to court stricter alliances with England. Nor did the multiplicity of, foreign negotiations, the conduct of war, or the attention necessary to guard their country from the attempts of its domestic foes, occasion its magnanimous Parliament, actuated with the true spirit of heroic patriotism, to neglect any part of the minutia of interior government. Excellent laws were enacted, to preserve in the fullest enjoyment of religious freedom the purity of religious sentiment, to correct the morals and the manners of the people, without infringement of their political rights, to guard the poor from the miseries of undeserved poverty, to protect society in general from the impositions, fraud, and rapacity of individuals, and to secure and extend the commerce of the country; whilst subjects of reformation in the system and practice of the English laws *, and in every part of police,

* The Parliament had proceeded so far in this business as to pass an act, that all books of the law should be put into English; that all writs, process, and returns, all patents, commissions, and indictments, judgments, records, rules, and proceedings in courts of justice, should be in the English tongue; that they should be written in an ordinary, usual and legible hand and character, and not in that commonly called a court-hand. They ordered a bill to be brought in to rectify the mischiefs

Ann. 1651. were from time to time agitated in this illustrious assembly; who regarding the United Provinces (on account of their situation, but more particularly of their form of government, their principles of religious toleration, and their commercial arts) as the natural ally of England, had early made advances towards uniting in a close confederacy the two republics. Neither so generous nor so politic were the intentions of the Dutch. This selfish people, instead of lending their assistance towards the progress of that great cause of humanity, political Freedom, regarded with the indirect and malignant eye of jealousy every advance which the English had made towards emancipation from the fetters of monarchy. From the very beginning of the quarrel between the Parliament and their sovereign, notwithstanding repeated declarations of neutrality, they had acted very notoriously in the King's favor; but when William Prince of Orange, Charles's son-in-law (who to the partiality of a relation joined the crafty policy of a man who aspires to be the tyrant of his country *) suc-

mischiefs which grew from the delays, chargeableness, and irregularities in the proceedings of the law; they appointed a committee of twenty-one intelligent persons, who were not members of the house, to propose a scheme for such purpose, and to advise the committee of Parliament appointed to bring in the bill. Matthew Hale, Esq. an eminent lawyer, was chairman to the committee of advice. In a short time after this order, an act was brought in for the taking away fines upon bills, declarations, and original writs; another for the more speedy recovery of rents; and a third against customary oaths. They were all read twice, and committed to the committee appointed to sit on the reformation of the law. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XX. p. 84, & seq.

* Clarendon says, that the prince of Orange, besides assisting the late King upon several emergent occasions with greater sums

ceeded to his father's command and authority, ^{Ann. 1651.} the Dutch shewed a greater alienation to the English Parliament, and held a conduct more openly favorable to the royal cause. After the new-modelling the government, the agents of the English commonwealth could obtain no audience of the States-General. The murderers of Dorislaus, through the remissness of pursuit, were suffered to escape with impunity. Charles Stewart was acknowledged by the government as the lawful king of England; the honors due to princes were paid him †; and the Presbyterian clergy, in their compliments of condolance on the death of his father, were suffered to revile the judges of that King, and the prin-

sums of money than were easy to his incumbered fortune, by his reputation, and his declared resolution that he would venture all he had in that quarrel, disposed many to be more concerned for his majesty. Doubtless, in return for these great obligations, it was expected that Charles, on his restoration to monarchical power, should assist the prince of Orange in subverting the principles of republican freedom established in the United Provinces, and in procuring to the prince of Orange and his family, if not the sovereignty of their country, the office of stadholder in perpetuity. Such expectations were not ill founded: We have in these modern times seen a slaveish faction, supported by the crown of England, wound the dignity, if not the essentials, of the Dutch constitution; and, at the expence of all which ought to be dear to society, gratify that lust of power so conspicuous in the Orange family.

† Clarendon tells us, that the States-General presented themselves in a body to his majesty, to condole with him for the murder of his father, in terms of great sorrow, save that there was not bitterness enough against the rebels and murderers; that the States of Holland apart performed the same civility; and the body of the clergy, in a Latin oration delivered by the chief preacher of the Hague, lamented the misfortune in terms of as much asperity and detestation of the actors, as unworthy the name of Christians, as could be expressed. *Clar. Hist. vol. III. p. 216, & seq.*

cipal

Ann. 1651. cipal authors of his death, in the most bitter and abusive language.

Fruitless
embassy to
the United
Provinces.

Heath's
Chronicle.
Parl. Hist.
Thurloe's
State-
Papers.

On the death of this prince, an event which happened soon after the murder of Dorislaus, and which was attended with the total suppression of the Orange faction, and the triumph of the Republicans, the Parliament, judging the opportunity favorable, sent St. John (the lord-chief-justice) and Strickland (their former agent), in the character of ambassadors-extraordinary *, to negotiate a strict alliance with the Dutch commonwealth †; but though un-

* To prevent a misfortune similar to that which their agent Dorislaus had suffered, forty gentlemen were appointed to attend, and ten thousand pounds were allowed for the expence of the embassy.

† The proposal of the English was, that the two commonwealths should be confederated friends, joined and allied together for the defence and preservation of their mutual freedom, against all who should attempt the disturbance of either state by sea or land. There were six propositions in consequence of this general proposal of alliance; the last, contained in the following terms, is too spirited to be omitted: " We profound that no rebel or declared enemy of the commonwealth of England shall be received into or be suffered to abide in any of the castles, towns, ports, creeks, or other places, privileged or not privileged, which the prince of Orange, princess Mary (relict of William late prince of Orange), or any other person of what degree soever, have or hereafter shall have or possess by any title whatsoever, within the dominions and jurisdictions of the United Provinces, nor suffered by the said prince, princess, or any other person, to be received into or abide therein; neither shall the Lords States of the United Provinces permit or suffer, in any of the places aforesaid, any assistance, counsel, or favor, in ships, men, money, victuals, or in any other manner, to be given by the said prince or princess, or any other person, to any such rebel or declared enemy, but shall openly and expressly prohibit and hinder the same. And if the prince of Orange and princess Mary, or any person or persons living or remaining in the jurisdiction of the United Provinces, or under their power, do to the contrary hereof, then, as well the said prince and princess, and all and every such other per-
son

interrupted success had hitherto attended their Ann. 1651. arms, yet the known inveterate malignity of two powerful factions, with the circumstance of a threatened invasion from the Scots, rendered the situation of their government, in the eyes of foreign states, at this time very precarious. Also the policy of De Wit, the head of the republican, and now the governing party in Holland, was in a great measure directed by the councils of France; and for these reasons, though the reception given by the States to the English ambassadors was both respectful and pompous, and accompanied with very high expressions of affection to the commonwealth of England, yet their advances to a closer confederacy were rejected, and the renewal only of former alliances offered.

The Parliament highly resented the cold evasive conduct of the Dutch; their ambassadors had peremptory orders for an immediate return; and that haughty republican, St. John, who had gone so far as to drop hints of an idea he had formed of a species of coalition between the two republics which would have rendered

son and persons so doing as aforesaid, shall for their respective lives forfeit and lose all such castles, towns, villages, lands, and other places, which they or any of them shall at such time have or pretend to have by any title whatsoever. And likewise that no rebels or declared enemy of the States of the United Provinces shall be received into or be suffered in any of the castles, towns, ports, or other places, privileged or not privileged, which any person or persons, of what degree or quality soever he be, have or shall hold or possess within the commonwealth of England, or dominion thereof, by any title whatsoever, nor suffered by any such person or persons, or any other, to be received thereinto or abide therein, under like penalties." *Harris's Life of Cromwell*, p. 259, & seq.

Ann. 1651. their interests totally inseparable, when commissioners from the States came to take their leave, testified his displeasure in the following terms: " My lords, you have an eye upon the affairs of Scotland, and therefore do refuse the friendship we have offered. Now I can assure you, that many of the Parliament were of opinion that we should not have come hither, nor that any ambassadors should have been sent to you before they had superated matters between them and that king, and then expected your ambassadors to us. I now perceive our error, and that those gentlemen were in the right. In a short time you will see that business ended, and then you will come to us, and seek in vain what we have freely offered."

The ambassadors were no sooner returned to England, and had given an account of their negociation, than the Parliament passed an act of navigation, which prohibited the importing from Asia, Africa, or America, any goods but in English ships, or from any part of Europe, except the goods were the growth and manufactory of the country from whence they were imported *; and which prohibited the importing any salt-fish, whale-fin, or oil, but those caught or made by the people of England. In consequence of this law, and of letters of re-

* To this general rule the act allows the exception of commodities from the Levant seas, the East-Indies, and ports of Spain and Portugal; nor did it extend to builion or prize goods, silk or silk wares, brought by land from Italy to Ostend, Amsterdain, Newport, Rotterdam, and Middleburgh, provided the owners or proprietors, being of the English commonwealth, first made oath, by themselves or other credible witness, that the goods were bought with the proceed of English commodities, sold either for money or in barter.

prisal granted to several merchants on account ^{Ann. 1651.} of injuries received from the States, above eighty Dutch ships were taken and made prize. That people, when it was too late, discovered the error of their policy, and dispatched three ambassadors to apologize to the Parliament for their past conduct; to endeavor to appease their resentment; to offer to enter into a treaty on their former propositions; and earnestly to request that things might be reinstated on the footing they were at the time of the ambassadors' departure from Holland.

St. John's prophecy was at this juncture perfectly fulfilled: The Parliament, unmoved by the solicitations and entreaties of the Dutch, absolutely refused to repeal a law of such importance to the grandeur and opulence of England as was the act of navigation; and, instead of listening to their offered alliance, made high demands of retaliation for former transgressions, even as far back as the unatoned massacre of Amboyna *; complained of the intelligence which the States' ambassador held with the late King during the civil wars; of the impunity with which the murderers of Dorislaus had been suffered to escape; of the conniving at insults to which St. John and Strickland had been exposed †; and insisted on the exclusive right

* According to the estimation of the Parliament, the losses which the English sustained from the Dutch, in the year 1618, amounted to seventeen hundred thousand pounds.

† The following were the insults at which the States had in some measure connived. Mr. Strickland's life was so highly threatened, that his servants were obliged to keep constant watch; two of them were attacked by six Cavaliers at their master's door. In consequence of a plot to assassinate Mr. St. John, an attempt was made to break into his chamber. The

Ann. 1651. which the subjects of Great-Britain had to the herring-fishery.

Rise and
progress of
the Dutch
war.

Alarmed with these symptoms of an hostile disposition in the Parliament, the States equipped a fleet of an hundred and fifty sail; they gave notice of their armament to the English government, but at the same time signified their desire of a friendly correspondence between the two states, and protested that it was provided for no other end than to protect their own subjects in their trade and navigation. Though conveyed in such cautious terms, the Parliament considered the intelligence of the warlike preparations made by the Dutch as a menace; and the following occasion discovered to them the aspiring pretensions which were couched in the words Protection and Defence.

two ambassadors were insulted as they were passing in their coach by prince Edward, one of the queen of Bohemia's sons, who, with many other abusive expressions, called out, " You rogues, you dogs!" Mr. St. John and the duke of York one day unexpectedly met in the Park at the Hague, and Mr. St. John preserving the dignity of ambassador to the English Republic, kept his ground. The duke in a passion snatched off his hat, and cried, " Learn, parricide, to respect the brother of your king." To this the ambassador retorted with spirit, " I scorn to acknowledge either you or him of whom you speak but as a race of vagabonds." The dispute would not have ended here, had not company interfered. On a complaint of these insults to the States, they remonstrated to the queen of Bohemia and the princess-dowager of Orange against the behavior of the two princes; they offered two hundred guilders for the discovery of the other offenders; and published a proclamation for the punishment of all such as should hereafter offer any violence to the persons or privileges of any ambassador or agent for foreign states; but as they did not banish the princes, nor take proper pains to discover the Cavaliers, the Parliament of England did not look upon their conduct as a sufficient reparation to the injured honor of their country. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XIX. p. 471, & seq.

A fleet

A fleet of Dutch fishermen having refused tribute and homage to an English man of war, the man of war fired and sunk one of their vessels. The Dutch, affecting to consider this proper resentment as an act of hostility, laid an embargo on all English ships in their ports; and in the beginning of the year 1652, appeared before Portsmouth with a fleet of forty-five sail. The English marine was not at that immediate time in a condition to resent the insult; but on the nineteenth of May, Blake, with a squadron of twenty-six sail, having met in the Dover road a fleet of forty-two Dutchmen commanded by Tromp, an officer of high renown, gave the signal to strike. Tromp, presuming on his superior strength, instead of complying, fired a broadside. This was returned with great spirit by Blake; who, though reinforced with only eight vessels (under captain Bourn *), maintained the fight for five hours; and, without sustaining any damage of the like nature, sunk one of the enemy's ships and took another. Night alone put an end to the combat, when Tromp, seizing the favorable opportunity which the darkness afforded of a secure retreat, retired towards the coast of Holland.

The unexpected event of this action, with the prospect of its obvious consequences, put the Dutch government in the utmost consternation. They denied the having any intention to enter into hostilities with the English state; they asserted, from a narrative which Tromp had sent of the encounter, that it was began

* The reinforcement arrived after the battle was begun.

Ann. 1652. by Blake, though their admiral was preparing to strike. Paw, pensionary of Holland, a supposed favorite of the Parliament, was sent in the character of ambassador-extraordinary, to entreat that assembly, by all the bonds of the common religion, and common liberties which united the two commonwealths, to avoid further acts of hostility, till, by the examination of commissioners into the circumstances of the action, the truth could be clearly known. It was with an ill grace that the States now urged those arguments for amity, alliance, and union which they had rejected when offered by the English Parliament. Blake, supported by the testimony of all the captains in his fleet, denied every circumstance of what they had advanced in their defence, and shewed that, at the very time when both nations were treating on conditions of alliance, the Dutch were perfidiously lying in wait for a favorable opportunity to destroy the naval power of the English, and to contest with them to advantage their claim of the sovereignty of the seas. The Dutch ambassadors, on the part of their superiors, earnestly solicited that hostilities between the two nations should be immediately put an end to, and that the treaty of Holland, so abruptly broken off, should speedily be recommenced; but the Parliament, on the reasons above-mentioned, insisted as preliminaries to such treaty, That the ships and vessels of the United Provinces, as well men of war as others, single ships or fleets, meeting at sea with any of the ships of war of the state of England, or in their service, and wearing the flag, should strike the flag and lower their top-sail till they passed by; that they should

should likewise submit themselves to be visited, ^{Ann. 1652.} if thereto required, and perform all other respects due to the commonwealth of England, to whom the dominion of the British seas did belong *; and that, without farther delay, reparation should be made for all the damages the English had sustained.

On the refusal of the Dutch to comply with their demands, the Parliament dispatched orders to commence a general war against the United Provinces. The Dutch herring-busses, escorted by twelve men of war, were on the northern coast all taken or dispersed by Blake. Tromp pursued the victor with a fleet of above an hundred sail. Though inferior in strength, the combat was not shunned by the intrepid Blake; but the intended onset was suddenly interrupted by a violent storm. Blake, without sustaining loss, took shelter in the English harbors; whilst the enemy was dispersed by the tempest, and received great damage. De Ruiter, the most famous naval commander in Europe, with fifty ships of war and thirty merchantmen, was attacked by Sir George Ayscough near Plymouth; and though Ayscough's squadron consisted but of forty sail, yet he maintained an equal fight till night put an end to the engagement. The enemy did not care to renew the combat; but, from the damage Ayscough had sustained, sailed off the next day unpursued. Nor was this the only engagement in which the

* To the article of striking the flag, and thus acknowledging the English sovereigns of the sea, the Dutch made no objection; but protested against the right of visiting their ships. It is said, that on this occasion they offered three hundred thousand pounds to procure amity and alliance.

Ann. 1652. skill of De Ruiter was foiled by the almost-invincible bravery of the English. In the Channel, near the coast of Kent, he was attacked and worsted by Blake, Bourne, and Pen; his rear-admiral was boarded and taken, two other vessels were sunk, and one blown up *. In the Mediterranean, captain Badily was attacked by a very superior force, and defeated by Van Galen: Badily fought so gallantly, that the victory cost the Dutch admiral his life. This success of the Dutch was followed with an advantage gained near the Goodwins, by Tromp and De Ruiter, over Blake; who, though more than usually inferior in strength to the enemy ‡, made so brave a defence, that the event of the battle was for a long time dubious. On both sides, the commanders and officers, as well as the common seamen, exerted very extraordinary efforts of personal bravery; the gallant Blake was himself wounded, two of his ships were taken, one was burnt, and but for the friendly covert of a dark night, the English fleet had been all lost.

This victory, obtained merely by the superiority of numbers, so elated the vain mind of Tromp, that, in a bravado, he affixed a broom to his main-mast, as if resolved to sweep the sea entirely of English vessels. But short-lived were the idle triumphs of the enemy: The matchless Republic of England, straining every nerve of power to bring down the pride of their

* In all these engagements in which the English gained the advantage, their fleets were never superior in numbers to the enemy, and in general very inferior.

‡ Blake, thinking the season too far advanced for action, had sent away to be laid up or refitted all but thirty-seven ships.

rivals,

rivals, fitted out a fleet of eighty sail *; it was ^{Ann. 1652.} commanded by Blake, and under him Dean and Monk †, who, for the purpose, had been sent for from Scotland. Three hundred Dutch merchantmen, escorted by seventy-six men of war, were attacked in the Channel. The battle, as it was in a manner to decide the fate of both nations, was fought with the utmost rage and obstinacy; but Victory, after the bloody contest of three days, declared in favor of the English. Thirty Dutch merchantmen fell into the hands of the enemy, eleven ships of war were lost, two thousand men were slain, and near fifteen hundred taken prisoners. Of the English, though many of their ships were shattered, yet but one was lost; the number of their slain was not much inferior to that of the Dutch.

With the loss of reputation as a maritime power, and considerably weakened in their naval strength, the Dutch had suffered very grievously in their trade by their unsuccessful war with the English. In the Channel their whole ^{Hume.} commerce was cut off; in the Baltic it was much infested; their fisheries were totally suspended; and above sixteen hundred of their ships had fallen into the hands of the enemy. The short, yet severe lesson they had learned by plunging themselves into an unnecessary war, had sufficiently taught them their inferiority; a

* To reward and encourage the seamen, the Parliament increased their pay, gave them a larger share in prizes, and erected hospitals for the sick and wounded all along the coasts. *Guthrie.*

† Sir George Ayscough had been lain aside, on suspicion of his having too much favored the Cavalier party in the conditions granted to the inhabitants of Barbadoes.

longer

Ann. 1652. longer trial must end in their destruction ; it was time to retrieve their error, and make advances towards a peace : An overture of such a

They refuse to enter into terms of accommodation with the Dutch. nature was made to the Parliament *. The Parliament beheld with pleasure their state of humiliation, but haughtily rejected their overture.

Scotland incorporated with the English commonwealth. The making a peace with the United Provinces, even on the most advantageous terms, was an object far within the compass of the glorious plan projected by this illustrious assembly. Scotland, reduced to a state of entire subjection, with alacrity had accepted the offer of an incorporation with the English Republic. Deputies from its counties and boroughs were to be permitted the having a seat and voice in the governing assembly of the empire † ; English judges were sent down to administer justice to the Scots ; and all manner of authority and jurisdiction derived from any other power but

* The king of Scots, encouraged by two of his needy followers, Ormond and Hyde, proposed to Borrel, the Dutch Ambassador at Paris, to go on board the Dutch fleet as a volunteer, without other command but that of the enemy's ships which should declare for him. The Dutch, who knew better the disposition of the English sailors than his majesty and his advisers, did not care to tie themselves to his interest without any probable advantage. They civilly refused his offer, and redoubled their endeavors for peace. *Clarendon.*

† This proposition of union, says Ludlow, was chearfully accepted by the most judicious of the Scotch nation, who well understood what a great condescension it was in the Parliament to permit a people they had conquered to a share in the legislative power ; yet notwithstanding, according to Heath, the Scotch clergy had the folly to protest against the union, lest such an incorporation should draw with it a subordination of the kirk to the state in the things of Christ. At the same time when they made this protestation, they confessed that they were justly punished in this subordination for having had anything to do with their king. *Gutkrie.*

that

that of the Parliament of England, was abolished in Scotland and its dependant isles ^{Ann. 1652.} The same plan of union extended to the Dutch commonwealth, was to add to the trophies of government, and found the basis of universal empire on the generous principles of universal Liberty.

Thus successful had been the operations of the English Parliament, thus extensive were its views. In all the annals of recorded time never had Fortune reared so tall a monument of human virtue, as were the achievements of this assembly. In the short space of twelve years, an established tyranny of more than five hundred, they had entirely subdued; in the form of government built on its ruins, they had recalled the wisdom and glory of ancient times. One revolted nation they had reduced to former obedience, another they had added to the English empire. The United Provinces were humbled to a state of accepting almost any imposed terms; and the declared enmity of the several courts and states of Europe, was turned to humble and earnest solicitations for friendship and alliance. At this full period of national glory, when both the domestic and foreign enemies of the country were dispersed and every where subdued; when England, after so long a subjection to monarchical tyranny, bade fair to out-do in the constitution of her government,

Extended views of the Parliament.

State of England under their government.

* The commissioners appointed by the Parliament to settle the affairs of Scotland were, St. John (chief-justice), Sir Henry Vane jun. general Monk, majors-general Lambert and Deane, colonel Fenwick, major Salway, and alderman Tichburn. Those boroughs which did not by deputies sign the union were disfranchised by the English commissioners,

and

Ann. 1652. and consequently in her power and strength, every circumstance of glory, wisdom, and felicity related of ancient or modern empire; when Englishmen were on the point of attaining a fuller measure of happiness, than had ever been the portion of human society; the base and wicked selfishness of one trusted citizen, disappointed the promised harvest of their hopes, and deprived them of that Liberty for which, at the expence of their blood and treasure, they had so long and so bravely contended.

Power and influence of Cromwell.

Though from the duplicity of Oliver Cromwell's conduct, and that base selfishness of principle which appeared in his transactions with the King, he had long been an object of distrust and jealousy to the wary and discerning, yet the confidence he still retained with the vulgar, and the easiness of Fairfax's temper, had enabled him to fill all places in the army, and many in the civil departments, with his own creatures and dependants, with such, whose weakness of judgment he could easily deceive, or whose low ambition would be contented with holding from his authority, an inferior part in the government of the empire. Fairfax, whose military genius had produced the overthrow of monarchical tyranny, in the unexpected ill-advised surrender of his power, opened a prospect to Cromwell which for a long time had been more the vicious object of his wishes than his hopes. The villany of his intentions did not openly discover itself till after the battle of Worcester, styled in one of his letters to the Parliament "the Crowning Victory." It is said, that his former confidence was so much elevated by this success, that, in the first moments of transport,

Villany of his intentions.

he

he flung off both his prudence and his hypocrisy, Ann. 1652. and, had he not been restrained by the persuasion of his friends, would by his single authority have conferred the honor of knighthood. Hugh Peters, his chaplain, on observing several suspicious circumstances in his behavior, said in confidence to a friend, that Cromwell intended to make himself king. At this period, even his enemies endeavored to satisfy his ambition at any less rate than the annihilation of their darling Republic. A deputation of four of their chief members was sent by the Parliament to invite him to assist their councils, on the subject of his late conquests. He was received in London with all the triumphs due to a successful general. They gratified his avarice with a donation of near seven thousand pounds a-year, and the officers most in his favor (viz. Lambert, Alured, Monk, Whalley, Ingoldsby, and Okey, all of them colonels of regiments) were each voted * to estates to the value of some hundreds *per annum* out of the conquered lands of Scotland. A committee was appointed to bring in an act, for asserting the right of the commonwealth to so much of that country as was then under the power of its forces; and

Parl. Hist.
Guthrie.
Parl. Hist.
vol. XX.
p. 87.

* Lands to the value of one thousand pounds a-year were settled on major-general Lambert; on the colonels Overton and Pride, five hundred.

About this time the Parliament entered on the business of distribution of lands lately conquered in Ireland, and appointed Oliver Cromwell (by the title of captain-general of all the Parliament's forces), lieutenant-general Fleetwood (as commander in chief under him in Ireland), lieutenant-general Ludlow, Miles Corbet, John Jones, and John Weaver, Esqrs. commissioners for ordering and managing the affairs of that nation. Parl. Hist. vol. XX. p. 50, 87, 91.

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Ann. 1652. the Parliament declared the goods and lands formerly belonging to the crown of Scotland to be confiscated, with those which belonged to such persons as had assisted in the invasion of England by the duke of Hamilton, in the year 1648, or had appeared in arms since under the king of Scots, in order to subvert the English government*.

His endeav-
ors to un-
dermine the
power of
the Parlia-
ment.

Whilst the Parliament were endeavoring to satisfy the ambitious lusts of their servant Cromwell, that base vain glorious man was undermining their power, with all those arts of falsehood and hypocrisy which had raised him to his present station of dangerous greatness. The Royalists, whose grovelling principles he knew would incline them to submit to any master, rather than to be subject to a wise and regular system of equal laws, he endeavored to gain by procuring for them more favorable conditions than consisted either with justice or good policy †. To those religious and civil

* The Parliament in their declaration excepted those who, since the battle of Dunbar, had abandoned the king of Scots, and by their merits and services had rendered themselves worthy of favor. They afterwards extended their lenity, and discharged from confiscation all merchants and tradesmen who possessed not in lands or goods above the value of five hundred pounds, if not prisoners of war, soldiers of fortune, moss troopers, or such as had killed or committed outrages against the English, contrary to the laws and customs of war.

† “ The Parliament, says Ludlow, were prevailed with, by the importunities of some of their own members, and in particular of general Cromwell (that so he might fortify himself by the addition of new friends for the carrying-on his designs) to pass an act of general pardon and amnesty; whereby, though it had thirty-eight several exceptions, many persons who deserved to pay towards the reimbursement of the public no less than those who had already fined, escaped the punishment due to their misdemeanors, and the commonwealth was defrauded

enthusiasts who were impatient at what they ^{Ann. 1652.} termed the slow progress of reformation; he accused the Parliament with intending to maintain the corrupt interests of the clergy and lawyers. To these two bodies of men he threw out hints, of putting a sudden stop to the progress of reformation, and of supporting all their selfish pretensions, was the administration of the civil power vested in his hands; and after many cabals and conferences on the subject of government, which led to the discovery of the different inclinations and opinions of the leading men, he had the boldness to open himself so far to Whitlock as to put to him the question, "What if a man should take upon him to be King?"

Whilst Cromwell was practising his hypocritical arts to undermine their power, the Parliament were every day gaining ground in the opinion of the people. The administration of government, in all its departments, was per-

defrauded of great sums of money; by which means they were rendered unable to discharge many just debts owing to such who had served them with diligence and fidelity."

Nothing could be more unwise in the Parliament, or more unequal to the talents they had on almost every other occasion displayed, than the slipping the opportunity of transferring the landed property of the country from the hands of the natural enemies of a republican government to its friends and supporters. From a contrary policy, Sylla, the Roman, had the gratification of seeing his laws and regulations observed, even after he had parted with his power. Cromwell intended to re-establish the principles of the old constitution in the power of himself and family; he therefore acted politically in curbing the influence of the Republicans, and strengthening the monarchical faction. Who sees not, that, as the intentions of the Parliament were different, so ought their conduct to have been opposite?

Their economy, just government, and growing popularity.

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Ann. 1652. fectly just and impartial; the public revenue was husbanded with the strict parsimony of private economy *; no visible favor or affection influenced the debates of Parliament, concerning the fines of delinquency or the claims of service; the power and glory which in so short a period their country had gained by the rapid conquests of Scotland and Ireland, with the late success against the Dutch, struck even malignant citizens with admiration, if not with love †; the progress of reformation kept pace

* The following anecdote, related of that steady republican Sir Henry Vane, is a generous instance of disinterested virtue not to be met with in the history of monarchy from the time of the Conquest to this day. The fees of his office as treasurer of the navy, though but four-pence in the pound, by reason of the Dutch war, amounted to thirty thousand pounds *per annum*. Of this circumstance he had the magnanimity to acquaint the Parliament; and, observing that such profit was a shameful robbery of the public, offered to give up his patent, which he had obtained for life from the late King, and to accept in lieu, for an agent he had bred up to the business, a salary of two thousand pounds a-year. The Parliament readily assented to the proposal; and, as a reward for his public virtue, settled on Sir Henry Vane the yearly value of twelve hundred pounds out of the lands belonging to the late dean and chapters. *Collins's Peerage. Journals of Parliament.*

† On the subject of the glory acquired by the English Republic in this infant state, we shall observe the following incautious testimonies of its inveterate enemies.

Heath, on entering into the subject of the Parliament's forced dissolution, and the ruin of the Republic, breaks out in the following exclamation: "Now, to the reproach of Fortune, and her glorious pageant of an English commonwealth, which she had set up for another wonder of the world, to brave the pyramids of stone, Colossus of brass, as to the defence of times injury, having subdued all likelihood of danger from without, all princes being ready to entertain their friendship."

Clarendon, who, with a heart replete with selfish malice, in prospective saw and sighed over the future grandeur of his country, on speaking of the political conduct of cardinal Mazarine,

with the progress of acquisition; the venom ^{Ann. 1652.} of party began visibly to decrease; and in a short time it was to be expected that the whole nation (the most wrong-headed of the royalist and church bigots excepted, with a few men whose particular interest was united to civil and religious evil) would with pleasure submit to the new system of law and government.

Cromwell (in whose breast rankled the most ^{Cromwell's} sordid principles of self-interest, with their ^{successful} con-
comitant vices, envy, hatred, and malice) with ^{intrigues} ^{with the} army. saw the increasing influence of the Republican party, and that their power must be shortly settled on too permanent a basis to be disturbed either by foreign or domestic, by public or secret enemies. He felt too, that his present importance, which had been nursed and supported merely by his military successes, was every day declining; that it would moulder away to nothing in a settled time of peace; and that his former glories were already diminished

zarine, makes the following observation: "After the battle of Naseby was lost, and the King seemed so totally defeated that he had very little hope of appearing again at the head of an army which might be able to resist the enemy, the cardinal was awakened to new apprehensions, and saw more cause to fear the monstrous power of the Parliament, after they had totally subdued the King, than ever he had to apprehend the excess of greatness in the crown." Treating of the Dutch war, he observes, "The United Provinces now discerned that they had helped to raise an enemy which was too powerful for them, and which would not be treated as the crown had been."

Guthrie, an historian of monarchical principles, makes the following observation: "Mazarine imagined, and that not without good grounds, that the natural interest of France led her to wish Cromwell to be at the head of the English, rather than it should be formed into a Republic of brave and wise patriots."

Ann. 1652. in lustre, by the superior achievements of the naval commanders. The land-forces had in general expressed some jealousy at the high reputation acquired by the sailors, and at the great encouragement which had been lately given by the Parliament to the marine; and tho' there were many military men both in the council of state and house of representatives, yet, either from a partial compliance with the self-denying ordinance, or from some other circumstance, there were many officers who had performed important acts of military service, disgusted with the being entirely excluded from any share in the civil authority. Cromwell, from repeated experience, was well versed in the art of working his private purposes on the perverse and discontented humor, the imaginary or real grievances of the army. He represented to them, that, on the pretence of carrying on the war with Holland, it was the intention of the Parliament, to disband and totally discard troops by whose military prowess, dangers, and fatigues they had been raised to sovereignty; and that, to prevent such treatment, it was necessary to resume their former spirit, and put a vigorous check to the proceedings of that assembly.

In consequence of this pernicious advice, a state of grievances, religious, civil, and military, was immediately drawn up and presented to the house *. The house not only received it civilly, but returned thanks to the petitioners for re-

* This petition consisted of twelve articles of grievances which the Parliament were now actually proceeding on the business of reforming and redressing. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XX. p. 97, & seq.

remembering them of any errors they might have committed in the exercise of their duty. They proceeded instantly to redress the grievances complained of, and particularly to satisfy the arrears of the army, by a vigorous application to the sale of delinquent and other estates.

Cromwell and his officers thus foiled in their first attempt, incessantly pressed the Parliament on the popular topic of putting a period to their power, and leaving the nation at liberty to chuse a free representative. This had been started by the Levellers; and the necessary delay which the arduous task of war, with the importance and difficulty of the business, had occasioned, was the only plausible objection to the honest and wise designs of the government. In consequence of a petition from lord Fairfax and the general council of officers, delivered to the house on January 20, 1649, a committee for the purpose of considering and preparing matter on the subject had been appointed. The plan given in to the Parliament by the committee was formed on the Agreement of the People *, and contained the number of representatives to be allotted to each county. The Parliament resolved, that the number of persons who should be elected for the commonwealth

* In this plan for a new representative, the number of members sent from each county was proportioned to the property the county contained. The little boroughs, which had been privileged by the sovereign for the purpose of corruption and dependency, were wholly deprived of the liberty of sending members, any otherwise than as they had votes in common for the county. The opulent towns and cities had the privilege of sending one or more members, according to the number and riches of their inhabitants. *Petition from the Lord Fairfax and the General Council of Officers.*

Ann. 1652. to serve in Parliament should not exceed four hundred. The remainder of the report was referred to a grand committee of the house, to take into consideration its several heads; and in such manner this important subject was debated every Wednesday, till it received interruption by the breaking out of the war in Scotland. When the affairs relative to the Scotch war were put into a train, it was again revived; and immediately after the battle of Worcester it was resolved by the house, that a bill should be brought in for the setting a time certain for the sitting of the present Parliament, and for the calling a new one, with such fit rules, qualifications, proportions, and other circumstances as the present Parliament should think fit, and which should be for the good and safety of the commonwealth. The discovery of Cromwell's designs, with the circumstance of the Dutch war, increasing the difficulties attending a dissolution, the fore-mentioned vote was rescinded, and a scheme of rotation (which secured a perpetual parliamentary authority, without infringing that fundamental principle of Liberty, the right of election and rejection in the people) was proposed and carried by the Republicans.

Such a salutary plan, had the Parliament possessed sufficient authority over the army to have carried into execution, would not only have entirely defeated the mischievous designs of Cromwell, but would have subjected him to the punishment his seditious practices deserved. Resentment and apprehension added spurs to his passion for empire: He became indefatigable in his endeavors to poison the minds of the military; seditious councils were frequently held,

held, where the Parliament was represented as ^{Ann. 1652.} a faction against their masters the army; and in which was agitated the treasonable question, Whether it was expedient to procure a dissolution by force? These cabals, with the influence which Cromwell had over the infatuated minds of the military, were no secret to the Parliament. They resumed the question which appointed a certain time for their dissolution, debated on a new plan of representation, and passed a resolution that thirty representatives should be admitted from Scotland, and as many from Ireland.

The popular measure of a voluntary dissolution, would have effectually vindicated the Parliament from the acrimonious aspersions of Cromwell, and (in the present situation of affairs) have been the only probable obstacle to the success of his schemes. He had now gone too far to retreat: Death or empire were the alternatives which awaited him. Whilst with his party in full consult, colonel Ingoldsby ^{Ann. 1653.} April 20. brought intelligence that the Parliament were met, and were proceeding in matters which would occasion several debates before they could be dissolved. Cromwell, starting up in a seeming rage, commanded some of the officers to fetch a party of soldiers. Thus attended, he immediately hastened to the house, where, placing his myrmidons at the door, in the lobby, and on the stairs, and after telling St. John that he came with a purpose which grieved him to the very soul, and for which he had earnestly with tears prayed the Lord not to impose on him, he sat down. On hearing the debates with regard to the bill of dissolution, he

Ann, 1653. told Harrison, an honest wrong-headed fanatic, that he judged the Parliament ripe for a dissolution. “ The work is very great and dangerous, replied Harrison. I desire you seriously to consider before you engage in it.” On this Cromwell sat still for another quarter of an hour; but, when the question was ready to be put, saying to Harrison, “ This is the time; I must do it,” he started up, and pouring forth reproaches on the Parliament for tyranny, ambition, oppression, and robbery of the public, for not having a heart to do any thing for the service of their country, and for having espoused the corrupt interests of Presbytery and the lawyers, who were the supporters of tyranny and oppression, he cried, “ Get you gone; give place to honest men; to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust; you are no longer a Parliament; I tell you, you are no longer a Parliament: The Lord has done with you; he hath chosen other instruments for the carrying on his work.” On Sir Peter Wentworth’s observing, that this was the first time he had ever heard such unbecoming language given to the Parliament, and that it was the more enormous in that it came from their servant, and a servant they had highly obliged *, Cromwell stepped into the midst of the house; where, in-

* Even so early as the year 1645, the Parliament, out of the estates of the marquis of Worcester and other delinquents, settled two thousand five hundred pounds a year on Cromwell, and resolved that the title and dignity of a baron of the kingdom of England, with all rights, privileges, pre-eminent, and precedencies appertaining to the said title and dignity, should be conferred on him and his heirs male, and that the King, in the propositions of peace, should be desired to confirm the grant. *Journals of Parliament.*

terrupting Wentworth's discourse, he hollowed ^{Ann. 1653} out, "Come, come, I will put an end to your prating; you are no Parliament—I say you are no Parliament—I will put an end to your sitting.—Call them in, call them in *." On this command, the serjeant attending the Parliament opened the door to colonel Worsley, with two files of musqueteers; and Cromwell, after telling the house that he had fought the Lord night and day that he would rather slay him than put him on such work, and reiterating his abuse to the assembly in general, and to several individuals in particular, forced the speaker out of the chair, drove the members out of the house, gave the mace to a soldier †, locked up the doors, and departed to his lodgings at Whitehall ‡.

* This extraordinary language in Cromwell was attended with the action of kicking the ground, and stamping with his feet, like a madman.

† He told the soldier to take away that Fool's Bauble.

‡ On this act of violence, Coke (an enemy) exclaims, "Thus fell the victorious Parliament, whose mighty actions will scarcely find belief in future generations; and to say the truth, they were a race of men most indefatigable and industrious in business, always seeking for men fit for it, and never preferring any from favor and importunity. As they excelled thus in civil affairs, so it must be owned they exercised in matters ecclesiastic no such severity as others before them upon such as dissented from them."

Guthrie, an anti-republican, expresses the following favorable opinion of this Parliament: "The English Republicans, by their vigor and spirit, struck Europe with consternation; and the English flag was such a protection to commerce, that the trade of the world seemed now to center in Europe. Had this vast expence been drained from the sweat of the people, the furnishing it would not have so much alarmed the Dutch; But there had been a great reduction in taxes; the customs alone furnished two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, clear of all deductions; the people scarce felt their burthens; and

U S U R P A T I O N.

C H A P. IV.

Declaration of the army. — Acts of power. — Acquiescence of the people. — New Parliament. — Continuation of the Dutch war. — Transactions of Parliament. — Dissolution of Parliament. — Usurpation of Cromwell. — Cromwell declared Protector of the English empire by the army. — Ordinances of the usurper. — Conclusion of peace with the Dutch, Danes, and Portuguese. — New Parliament. — The Parliament averse to the legitimating Cromwell's power. — Force on the Parliament. — Transactions of Parliament. — Dissolution of Parliament.

Ann. 1653.

Journals of
Commons.
Parl. Hist.

AS the same violence which had dissolved the Parliament annihilated the authority of the council of state, the only visible power now existing in the empire was that of the

even the greatest enemies which the government had were pleased with the figure which England made abroad.

“ Historians in general, estimating things by events and prejudices, have represented the late Parliament in a pitiful light, despised and disregarded by the people, which gave Cromwell the boldness to act as he did. But the reverse of this is true; for Cromwell dissolved them because he knew that they must in time win upon the people; that the spirit with which they proceeded would soon render him and his army

army, whose leaders (after having published a ^{Ann. 1653.} Declaration, where, in the most acrimonious of the army.

army useless ; and that they were pointing towards an establishment which must check the career of all inordinate ambition."

" This Parliament, says Trenchard (in his History of Standing Armies in England), made their name famous through the whole earth, conquered their enemies in England, Scotland, and Ireland, reduced the kingdom of Portugal to their own terms, recovered our reputation at sea, overcame the Dutch in several famous battles, secured our trade, and managed the public expences with so much frugality that no estates were gained by private men upon the public miseries, and at last were passing an act for their own dissolution, and settling the nation in a free and impartial commonwealth."

Ludlow, on the praises of this renowned assembly, writes, " It will appear to unprejudiced posterity, that they were a disinterested and impartial Parliament, who, though they had the sovereign power of the three nations in their hands for the space of ten or twelve years, yet did not in all that time give away amongst themselves so much as they spent for the public in three months."

In a Discourse on the National Excellency of England, there is the following honorable character given of the English government during the short time it remained a Republic. " If you respect its infancy and beginning, it outwent in warlike achievements all other commonwealths. I lay before me the exploits of Sparta, Athens, Carthage, and Venice ; and know that the Venetians, Switzers, and United Provinces, at this day being contemptible for territory, are those only that appear fittest matches for the greatest empires. I know also Rome, the only mistress of the world, was justly celebrated for large conquests ; and yet none of these states gave such starts, and made such conquests at their rise, as our English commonwealth. Certainly, so many advantages conduced to its greatness and increase, and at its first appearing so large were its territories, that it may well be affirmed never was commonwealth in that respect laid on so large and strong a foundation ; and if in our conceit we should give it an answerable growth, we could not assign it less than the whole globe at last for its portion. At first, if you will judge by the affections of the people, it had not the hundredth part of England itself, and was to go through difficulties which would have confounded any but a free state ; yet how quickly had it brought the nation

Ann. 1653. language, was collected all the groundless abuse and false calumnies with which Cromwell had

tion to somewhat a better understanding, and a fair way of settlement: So that there are some who question whether any natural prince of England had ever been assisted on any occasion with such great forces, so suddenly and with such alacrity raised, as they were at Worcester; and, on the other side, how few went over to the king of Scots, though generally looked on as a rightful prince, deserves consideration. It lived not out a lustre, yet conquered Scotland (introducing more Liberty and greater privileges than they had had before), Ireland, and several other smaller islands; made other nations feel its force, as the French and Portuguese; and was going on in such a career of action as was not to be stopped by a human power. This government began a war with the Dutch, which it would have ended with absolute conquest or fallen in the attempt; and after this, probably, it would have entered on more honorable enterprizes, and not suffered the nation to grow effeminate by ease and vice. In a word, it had brought in an instant the nation to a full glory, and such a splendor as cast a darkness, as it is affirmed by some, on the greatest actions of former times. This is certain, that the neighboring states trembled at its sudden and prodigious greatness, and remote potentates did court and seek a good understanding from its hands; and its dissolution brought no ordinary content to those who had cause to fear it.

“ The agent from the Stewarts, as a late writer reports, at the first appearance of this commonwealth, urged the United Provinces, that if England were free it would be formidable to them, not only by interrupting their fishing, and all other maritime advantages, but by robbing them of traffic, as they had done the Venetians; and not only so, but give law to all Christendom, by reason of the commodiousness of its harbors and the number of its ships.”

To the just and high elogiums which have been made on the government of the Parliament, it is to be remembered, that to them is due the singular praise of having pursued the true interest of their country in attending particularly to its maritime strength, and carrying on its foreign wars by its naval power. This example, which raised England to so great an height of glory and prosperity, has never yet been followed, and in all probability never will, by the succeeding monarchs. The aim of princes is to make conquests on their subjects, not to enlarge the empire of a free people. A standing army is a never-failing

aspersed the Parliament), on their own authority, ^{Ann. 1653.} issued orders for all civil officers to proceed as ^{Acts of} formerly in their functions, formed themselves ^{power.} into a new council of state, appointed new treasurers for the excise, levied assessments on the people, and took upon themselves the whole administration of the civil and military government.

Nor did their manifest usurpation, their confounding every principle of just opposition with interested faction and unprovoked violence, the disgraceful treatment they had given their principals the patriotic Parliament, excite any just sentiment of indignation from the public. On the contrary, they received congratulatory addresses from the different bodies of the military, from the sea-militia, from many of the chief corporations and counties in England, and in particular from the several religious independant congregations dispersed throughout the kingdom; whilst the two factions of Royalists and Presbyterians beheld with malignant pleasure the ruinous divisions of a party, who had so successfully opposed their different views.

An acquiescence, thus universal, to the insult committed on the guardians of the infant Republic, and the first step to the usurpation of Cromwell, fixes an indelible stain on the character of the English, as a people basely and incorrigibly attached to the sovereignty of individuals, and of natures too ignoble to endure an empire of equal laws. That this has been

failing instrument of domestic triumph; and it is very doubtful whether a naval force could be rendered useful in any capacity but that of extending the power and prosperity of the country.

the

Ann. 1653. the character of the generality of the nation, the History of the country too fatally evinces. Even at this enlightened period, the large party of Royalists and Presbyterians languished after monarchy, arbitrary or limited ; and the number of Republicans, whose virtues had atchieved such glorious actions, was too small to stand the shocks of treachery and division. In justice, however; to that party who had justified the liberties of their country by the execution of the tyrant Charles, it must be allowed, that it was by alarming the fears, rousing the resentments, flattering the wishes, and cajoling the prejudices of the major part, and not by the concurrence of a slavish principle, that Cromwell was enabled to allay that heat of opposition which would immediately have followed the dissolution of Parliament, had its interested motive been publicly known or acknowledged. The unpopularity that assembly had incurred was not for the efforts they had made to establish power on an equal plan, but on the suspicion that they intended to erect a sovereignty not sufficiently dependant on the choice of the people. The declaration published by their enemies, is not only full of such invectives, but hath an insinuation, that, to ruin those who had opposed their tyrannical measures, they had in their intended act of dissolution endangered the liberty-party, and given opportunity of admission to power to the corrupt and dreaded interests of Royalist and Presbyterian. Cromwell, in his own person, and on a borrowed authority, had committed that high act of treachery and treason, the dissolving the Parliament. Very few of the soldiery were advised with, nor was he after-

afterwards supported in it by the general concurrence of that body of men with any design of destroying the commonwealth, but on the fantastic notion of accelerating the work of freedom and reformation. This was the only ground of dispute between the military enthusiasts and the late Parliament; and, according to what they had flung out in their vindictory declaration, notwithstanding many artful essays which were made by Cromwell to procure an invitation to assume the whole business of administration*, it was determined by the army, that the power of government and the work of reformation should for a time (till the constitution could be settled on a solid basis, and, by the abatement of party rage, the people should be brought to understand their true interest in the election of successive Parliaments) be assigned to a body of one hundred and twenty-eight individuals, chosen from the different towns and counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and, such was the infatuation or the necessity of the times, that, on no better authority than a summons in the name of Oliver Cromwell, commander in chief of the land-forces, an hundred and twenty persons, among whom were several of worth, fortune, and abilities, appeared at Whitehall, for the purpose of taking upon themselves the supreme authority of the state.

* On Cromwell's affirming, that he wished to see an instrument of government drawn up to free him from the temptations to which the power he had in his hands might subject him, major Sallaway returned, "The way to free you from these temptations is for you not to look upon yourself to be under them; but to rest persuaded that the power is in the good people of England, as it formerly was." *Ludlow*, p. 176.

On

Ann. 1653. On the meeting of this convention, Cromwell presented to them the delegatory instrument of their future authority ; after a tedious narrative harangue, delivered in a low, vulgar, obscure, confused, and canting style, in which was reiterated the abuse already flung out on the transactions of the late Parliament ; the conduct of the army was also excused, on the principles of expediency and necessity ; and the intended governors were told, that this was the day of the power of Christ, who was owned by their call ; and that it was the greatest mercy, next to his own son, God had vouchsafed his people.

New Parliament.

On the following day, these new sovereigns of the empire met in the house of Parliament ; and, after reading the instrument (which, though drawn up by the direction of the council of officers, was only signed with Cromwell's seal, by which forty members of the convention were empowered to act for the whole body, by which the time of their sitting was fixed to the third of November 1654, and by which, three months before the period appointed for their dissolution, they were to have the privilege of choosing their successors) they proceeded to vote, that Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, Desborough, and colonel Tomlinson, though not called by the writ of summons, should sit amongst them. On the question, in what capacity they were to exercise their power, they assumed the style of the Parliament of England ; ordered colonel Worsley (to whose care it had been by Cromwell committed) to deliver up the mace ; nominated Rouse for their speaker ; established committees for the affairs of Ireland

land * and Scotland, for the law, the army, and ^{Ann. 1653.} the navy, for inspecting the treasuries, and regulating offices and salaries, for the business of trade and corporations, for the poor, for regulating commissions of the peace, for considering of public debts, to receive accusations of bribery, public fraud, and breach of public trust, and for the advancement of learning; and, though the deputies of the military power were yet sitting, they appointed a new council of state, and altered the nature of its authority.

The Dutch war was so much the public passion, as to have been very instrumental in ^{Continua-} ^{tion of the Dutch war.} checking that opposition which might otherwise have arisen to the irregular transactions of ^{Guthrie.} ^{Ludlow.} ^{Whitlock,} ^{Heath.} the army. It was on these reasons, that those men to whom the management of the Admiralty was assigned by the last Parliament, continued to act, though the authority of their masters was extinct; and by their assiduity, with the friendship of the Swedish state in furnishing England with materials for ship-building, a naval force, in all respects superior to that which had already done such execution, was this year fitted out.

On the second of June, two numerous fleets of the contending powers met near the coast of Flanders †. Van Tromp, De Wit, and De Ruiter, commanded the Dutch; Blake, Pen,

* The new settlement of Ireland, narrated in the first chapter of this Work, was established by the authority of this Parliament.

† The English fleet consisted of ninety-five men of war, and five fire-ships; and that of the Dutch of ninety-eight men of war, and seven fire-ships.

Dean,

Ann. 1653. Dean, and Lawson, the English. After a hot contest of two days, the well-tempered valor of the English met with its usual success. The enemy, who had sustained great loss, were driven into their harbors; and an ambassador to sue for peace was dispatched to the English Parliament. The Parliament refused to hearken to any other terms than an entire incorporation; and the Dutch, driven to despair, either by the weakness of counsel, or by a treacherous connivance in the English officers, were enabled to make another effort to save their sinking republic. A fleet of one hundred and forty sail, in which were ships of a superior size to any they had yet brought to service, was fitted out with incredible expedition, and the English, who had denied them the very existence of a separate state, were again necessitated to renew their toils and dangers in the defence of the empire of the seas.

To this formidable armament the Parliament opposed a fleet of ninety sail, commanded by Monk, Lawson, and Pen. As the Dutch, from the present size of their ships, had in a great measure obviated the disadvantages of former engagements, as their courage received strength from their despair, and as experience had improved their address, the victory the English on this occasion gained over them was dearly bought and undecisive. After a battle, which continued two days, and which was far more bloody than any of the preceding, the incident of Van Tromp's death (who, as he was giving orders on the deck of his ship, was shot by a musket-ball) so discouraged the Dutch, that they retired with precipitation, but not before they

July 31.
August 1.

they had sufficiently disabled the enemy's ships ^{Ann. 1653.} as to oblige them to quit their coasts * ; a station the English had kept ever since the victory they had gained on the Flanders shore.

The Parliament were not wanting in their patriotic endeavors to bring the Dutch war to an advantageous and glorious conclusion : They made all the necessary preparations of men and money ; they declared Blake, Monk, Desborough, and Pen the four generals † at sea ; they empowered them, with other commissioners, to manage the affairs of the Admiralty for six months ; they rewarded the officers of the navy with gold chains, medals, and money ; they made provision for the widows and children of those officers who had been slain in the service ; they bestowed immunities on the common sailors, and appointed hospitals for their reception ; they issued orders for regulating the customs and excise ; they enlarged the powers of the committee established for trade ; they gave orders to prepare an act for the erecting a high court of justice for proceeding against all such as should surprize or betray the fortresses, magazines, or ships of the commonwealth into the hands of the enemy ; and also against all such as should, contrary to the law, proclaim any to be king of England or Ireland.

* The Dutch lost in this engagement twenty-four men of war, four thousand of their men were killed, and one thousand taken out of the sea, by the humanity of the English sailors, notwithstanding Monk (their commander) had issued orders that no quarter should be given or taken.

† As the chief military commanders were employed promiscuously, as the public service demanded, both on land and sea, they were termed Generals though acting in a naval capacity.

Ann. 1653.
Dissolution
of Parlia-
ment.

The establishing an authority to enforce obedience to the act against Kingship, was regarded by all parties as a state-jealousy of the influence and suspicious conduct of Cromwell. That perfidious traitor regarded it in this light; and finding the majority of the Parliament intent on performing faithfully their duty to the public, and in thwarting his ambitious views, he determined, by another act of violence, to satisfy his lust for empire, or perish in the attempt. As the Parliament in their government had most religiously adhered to those principles, for the establishment of which they had been called together, and in such an extraordinary manner invested with full power, so their laudable zeal in this particular, afforded Cromwell a favorable opportunity of forming a very considerable party on the corrupt but never-failing ground of self-interest. The advances the government had made towards reforming the system of law *,

* As the patriotic endeavors of this Parliament to reform the system of law, and in particular their voting down the court of Chancery, with their laudable intention of constituting a court of equity which should distribute justice to the subject without any mixture of oppression, has raised a general outcry against them, from the selfish, the prejudiced, and the ignorant, it is the duty of an Historian to inform the public what were the cogent reasons which induced this assembly to a conduct which has met with such unfair and indiscriminate censure.

In the course of the parliamentary debates it was urged, that the court of Chancery was the greatest grievance of the nation; that for dilatoriness, chargeableness, and a faculty of bleeding the people in the purse-vein, even to their utter perishing and undoing, that court might compare with, if not surpass, any court in the world. It was confidently affirmed by knowing gentlemen of worth, that there were depending in that court twenty-three thousand causes, some of which had been depending five, some ten, some twenty, and some thirty years and more; that there had been spent therein many thousands of pounds,

the rendering its execution less tedious and less ^{Ann. 1653.} burthensome to the subject *, the correcting the abuses of the courts of justice, and the reducing the clergy to a more evangelical constitution †, had given an alarm to the interested,

pounds, to the ruin, nay utter undoing of many families ; that hardly any ship which failed in the sea of the law, but first or last put into that port, and if they made any considerable stay there, they suffered so much loss that the remedy was as bad as the disease. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XX. p. 198.

* On a petition in favor of the several prisoners for debt throughout the nation, the Parliament invested commissioners with power to act as commissioners of bankrupts, to examine and determine in a summary way concerning the causes of such persons' imprisonment, and to order those to close confinement who refused to pay their debts when able. To prevent from perishing in prison, through the cruelty of obdurate creditors, those debtors who were totally unable to pay, these commissioners were likewise empowered to discharge, abate, or give respite of time to any such prisoner, according as the circumstances of the case might require ; and also to remove to the house of correction any obstinate prisoner who should be found to lie in prison through his own wilful default, or to have run into debt by a vicious course of life. An act of a similar kind had been passed by the last Parliament. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XX. p. 227, & seq.

† Among the regulations of this Parliament, which gave the greatest offence to weak and superstitious minds, was an act for the investing the power of marrying in justices of peace and lay-commissioners.

Lord Clarendon, and other prejudiced writers, have bitterly inveighed against this Parliament, as enemies both to the clergy and to science, as having designs not to regulate but to annihilate the ecclesiastical establishment, and to despoil those seminaries of learning the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In regard to the accusation relative to the Universities, it does not appear by the Journals of Parliament, that there was any motion of such a tendency made in the house ; and in regard to the accusation relative to the destroying the ecclesiastical establishment, the intention of Parliament, according to the account given by a member of that assembly, went no farther than reformation. “ A bill, says this writer, was offered on the day of the Parliament's resignation, for rendering the re-

Ann. 1653. and consequently the greater part of the lawyers and the clergy. Cromwell, after improving

venues of the clergy more certain and equal, by reducing benefices of two hundred a-year and upwards, and advancing those of a smaller income; and also for the making provision for the widows and children of ministers. This equitable proposal, continues the same writer, was refused a reading. The charge, therefore, against one part of the house, of an intent to destroy the ministry, was a groundless reproach, cast upon those who only endeavored to take off oppressions and grievances."

The Long Parliament, when they abolished episcopacy, and sold the temporary revenues of the bishops, deans and chapters, &c. made an express reserve of all their impropriations, which were to be applied to the increase of the revenues of the parochial clergy and heads of colleges; and the same reserve of impropriations, was made in the act passed by this Parliament for enabling delinquents to compound for their estates; and a few days before their forced resignation, the following resolution was reported by Mr. Sadler from the committee of tythes: " That it be presented to the Parliament, that all such as are or shall be approved for public preachers of the Gospel, in the public meeting-places, shall have and enjoy the maintenance already settled by law, and such other encouragement as the Parliament hath already appointed, or hereafter shall appoint; and that where any scruple payment of tythes, the three next justices of the peace, or two of them, shall upon complaint call the parties concerned before them, and, by the oaths of lawful witnesses, shall duly apportion the value of the said tythes, to be paid either in money or land, by them to be set out according to the said value, to be held and enjoyed by him that was to have the said tythes; and in case such apportioned value be not duly paid or enjoyed, according to the order of the said justices, the tythes shall be paid in kind, and shall be recovered in any court of record. Upon hearing and considering what hath been offered to this committee touching propriety in tythes of incumbents, rectors, possessors of donatives, or proprie tytythes, it is the opinion of this committee, and resolved to be so reported to the Parliament, that the said persons have a legal propriety in tythes." The Journals abound with instances wherein the delinquents under sequestration were obliged to endow the respective vicarages of which they were impropriators with a portion of the tythe; and the value of such portion, upon a calculation

their fears to a convenient temper, by representing to them that all things were brought into confusion by the immoderate zeal of those in authority; and that matters would be reduced to extremities, even to the utter extirpation of law and gospel, if permitted to go on *; Ann. 1653.

of years, was allowed in part of payment of their composition. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XX. p. 245, & seq. *Harris's Life of Cromwell*, p. 337, & seq.

* " When, writes a member of this Parliament, the vote was first carried for a new body or model of law, a committee was chosen to that end, who met often, and had the help of some gentlemen of worth, who had deserved well of their country, being true patriots, who liked the thing, as very useful and desireable; it being not a destroying of the law, or putting it down (as some scandalously reported), but a reducing the wholesome, just, and good laws into a body, from them that are useless and out of date.

" The way the committee took in order to their work must needs be elaborate. It was by reducing the several laws to the proper heads to which they did belong, and so modelizing or embodying of them, taking knowledge of the nature of them, and what the law of God said in the case, and how agreeable to right reason they were; likewise how proportionable the punishment was to the offence or crime; and wherein there seemed any thing either deficient or excessive, to offer a supply and remedy, in order to rectifying the whole. The committee began with criminals. Treason being the highest, they considered the kinds thereof, what was meet to be adjudged treason in a free commonwealth, and what was meet to be the punishment of grand and petty treason. Then they proceeded to murder, the kinds of it, and what was to be so adjudged, and the punishment thereof. The like they intended concerning theft; and after to have ascertained and secured property, as also the executive part of the law, so as a person should not need to part with one property to secure and keep another, as now it is; persons being forced to lose the property of their cow to keep the property of their horse, or one parcel of land to preserve and keep another. This body of law, when modelized, was to have been reported to the house, to be considered of and passed by them as they should see cause; a work of itself great, and of high esteem with many, for the good fruit and benefit which would arise

Ann. 1653. proposed that they would join their interests to his, in order to prevent such an inundation of evil. The proposal was readily accepted; and Cromwell having thus brought over to his personal views two powerful parties, and seduced the chief officers of the army with the promise of sharing in the administration of his government, now took off the mask, and exposed to the eyes of the public a character more diabolically wicked than it was possible for the generality of the honest part of mankind to conceive.

On the morning of the twelfth day of December, a party of Cromwell's creatures, who had been appointed members of the convention, for the purpose of accelerating the accomplishment of his views, met earlier in the house than usual. Instead of entering upon business or orderly debate, they bitterly inveighed against the transactions of the Parliament, charged them with a design to ruin the army by not making a sufficient and timely provision for their pay, with a design to destroy the clergy, the law, and the property of the subject, and with not having a frame of spirit to do common justice. As several members entered largely into the vindication of the as-

from it; by which means the huge volumes of the law would come to be reduced into the bigness of a pocket-book, as it is proportionably in New-England; a thing of so great worth and benefit as England is not yet worthy of, nor likely in a short time to be so blessed as to enjoy. And that was the true end and endeavor of those members who labored in that committee; although it was most falsely and wickedly reported that their endeavors tended to destroying the whole laws, and pulling them up by the roots."

The house set apart Friday in every week to debate on the important business abovementioned.

sembly,

sembly, the house had time to fill. Cromwell's Ann. 1653. party, despairing to carry their designs by vote, abruptly broke off the debate, and saying there was now no leisure to wrangle, but that something must be done to prevent the immediate destruction of the nation, rose from their seats, and, with Rouse (the speaker) at their head, repaired to Whitehall, where they subscribed a writing, wherein, on the plea of inability to bring any thing to perfection for the advantage and settlement of the nation, they resigned that power with which for such good purposes they had been invested into the hands of Cromwell, from whom, they said, they had received it. Cromwell, on the receipt of this instrument of resignation, carried the grimace of hypocrisy such a contemptible length, as to lift up his eyes with seeming astonishment, and with no less-affected modesty declined the accepting it. At length, through the importunity of Lambert, and others of his party in the army, he not only complied with the request, but sent a party of military bravoes to drive out of the house those members who, notwithstanding the earnest importunity of his creatures, had continued to sit in their parliamentary capacity.

In a council of field-officers, held at Whitehall, the writing of resignation was produced; and Lambert, after expatiating on the necessity of obviating those inconveniences which had been experienced in a republican form, by vesting the supreme power in one person, communicated the contents of an already-prepared instrument of such a plan of government. On several objections made by divers in the assembly, who regarded with horror the sacrificing

Ann. 1653. their labors to the lusts of an individual, he, in blundering contradiction to the solemn asseverations of Cromwell, informed them, that it was not now to be disputed whether the instrument produced should or should not be the form of government, for that matter was already resolved on, and had been under consideration for two months past. On intimation that the debates of the council were not to extend to alteration, but to be confined to amendments, it was proposed, that it might be declared in the instrument, that the general of the army should, after this time, be incapable of holding the supreme power; that none of the relations of a deceased sovereign should be chosen at the next ensuing election; and that the system proposed should be referred to the consideration of a general council of all the commission-officers then in town. Nothing satisfactory was returned to these proposals; They were to be offered to the general; and in the next meeting, their authors, after information that his excellency would take upon himself the management of the civil government, were required to repair to their respective charges to preserve the public peace.

The instrument of government, thus arbitrarily imposed on the nation by the leading men of the army, appointed the legislative power to be in the representative of the people, and in an individual sovereign, with the appellation of Protector. It appointed a Parliament to be chosen by the people every three years: Such Parliaments were to have liberty to sit five months without interruption; their first meeting was to be on the thirteenth of September next

next ensuing. Whatsoever they enacted was to be presented to the Protector for his assent; but, if he did not confirm it within twenty days after it was first tended to him, it was to have the force and obligation of a law; but with proviso that such bills were not to contain any thing contrary to the contents of the instrument of government: In these cases, a negative was reserved to the Protector. It provided that a Parliament should be summoned on any pressing exigencies of the state, and in particular to advise on the business of entering into war with foreign states. It appointed that the exercise of the chief magistracy and administration of the government should be in the Protector, assisted by a council. It provided that all writs, processes, &c. which had run in the names of the keepers of the liberties of England, should henceforth issue out in that of the Protector; from whom all magistracy and honors in the three nations were to be derived, except the chancellor, keeper or commissioners of the great-seal, the treasurer, admiral, chief governors of Ireland, and the chief-justices of both the benches, who were to be chosen by the approbation of Parliament; and, in the interval of Parliament, by the approbation of the major part of the council, to be afterwards approved of by Parliament. It appointed the power of the sword to be jointly in the Parliament and Protector, whilst a Parliament was sitting; but in the intervals of Parliament, in the Protector and council. It provided toleration for all those who professed faith in Jesus Christ, with an exception to Popery and Prelacy, and to such as, under the profession of Christ,

Ann. 1653. Christ, held forth and practised licentiousness, It appointed the raising a yearly revenue for the maintenance of ten thousand horse and dragoons, twenty thousand foot, and a convenient number of ships for the guarding the seas; with two hundred thousand pounds for defraying the necessary charges of the administration of justice and other expences of government. It appointed that the Protector, with the consent of his council, should have power to raise money for the purposes aforesaid, and also to make laws and ordinances for the peace and welfare of the commonwealth: Such laws were to be binding till the next meeting of Parliament. It appointed that the lands, tenements, rents, royalties, jurisdictions, and hereditaments which remained unsold or undisposed of by Parliament, except the forests and chases, with the lands forfeited in Scotland and Ireland, should be vested in the Protector, and not alienated but by consent of Parliament; that all debts, fines, &c. due to the keepers of the liberties of England, by authority of Parliament, were to be payable in his public receipt, and to be prosecuted in his name. It appointed that the office of the Protector should be elective and not hereditary; that the election should be by the council; that Oliver Cromwell, captain-general of the forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland, should be the present Lord-Protector of the commonwealth; and that Philip lord viscount Lisle, Charles Fleetwood, John Lambert, Esqrs. Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Charles Wolsey, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Barts. Edward Montague, John Desborough, Walter Strickland, Henry Lawrence, William Sydenham,

Sydenham, Philip Jones, Richard Major, Francis Rouse, and Philip Skippon, Esqrs. (all men who had been members of the late convention, and the greater part of whom had been principal instruments in the violence committed on that assembly) should be of his council. On the death or other removal of any of these, the Parliament was to nominate six persons, out of whom the major part of the council was to elect two, and out of this number the Protector was to fill up the vacancy. And in case of corruption, or other ill-behavior, in any of the council in their trust, the Parliament was to appoint seven of their members, and the council six, who, together with the lord-chancellor, and the lord-keeper or commissioners of the great-seal for the time being, were to have power to hear and determine such corruption and misdemeanor, and to award and inflict such punishment as the nature of the offence did deserve. Such punishment was not to be pardoned or remitted by the Lord-Protector; who, with the advice of the major part, had liberty to add to his council such persons as he should think fit, provided the number thereby was not made to exceed one-and-twenty.

Cromwell, thus raised to supreme dignity by the same violence and irregular means which had defaced the civil authority and produced the destruction of all law and order, was, on the sixteenth of December, inaugurated into the office of Lord-Protector of the United Realms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and the vain-glorious usurper, in opposition to all those principles of simplicity, humility, and moderation, under the guise of which he had

Usurpation
of Crom-
well.

Ann. 1653. had deceived the honest but credulous part of mankind, took care to have the ceremony performed with all the parade of royal pageantry *.

* The ceremony of inauguration.

On the sixteenth of December, the usurper paraded from Whitehall to the court of Chancery, with the following attendance. Immediately before him passed the lords-commissioners of the great-seal of England; the judges and barons of the several benches, in their robes; the council of the commonwealth; the lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London, in their scarlet gowns; the recorder, town-clerk, and sword-bearer, with the cap of maintenance and sword, but not erected.

The usurper followed in his own coach, with his life-guard, attended with several gentlemen, bareheaded, and several of the chief officers of the army, with their cloaks, swords, and hats on. In the court of Chancery was placed a rich chair of state, with a large cushion, and carpets on the floor. The lords-commissioners of the great-seal ranged themselves on each side of the chair, the usurper on the left hand, round about it all the judges and the council of state; the lord-mayor and aldermen on the right-side of the court, the chief officers of the army on the left, all bareheaded. When the company was properly ranged, major-general Lambert, after declaring the dissolution of the Parliament, and the great exigency of the times, did, in the name of the army and the three nations, desire the lord-general to accept of the Protectorate. The lord-general, with a seeming great reluctance, having given his consent, the instrument of government was read aloud by Mr. Jeffop, one of the secretaries of the council. After this ceremony, the lord-commissioner Lisle presented to the usurper the form of an oath, to preserve inviolate the matters contained in the instrument of government, and in all other respects to govern the nations according to the laws, customs, and statutes thereof. During the reading of this oath, the usurper lifted up his eyes to Heaven, with the semblance of great solemnity and devotion, and then subscribed it in the face of the court. This ceremony over, major-general Lambert, kneeling, presented the usurper with a sword in the scabbard, representing the civil sword; this the usurper accepting, put off his own, thereby to intimate that he would no longer rule by the military one. He was then invited by the lords-commissioners of the great-seal, the judges, with the

The first act of the usurper, after his coun- Ann. 1653. Cromwell
declared
Protector of
the English
empire.
cil had issued out orders to all counties and considerable corporations for the proclaiming him Protector, was the settling on these associates in his power and villany an annual salary of a thousand pounds. At the same time, he established a commission for taking care of all forests, fees, and lands belonging to the late king, queen, and prince; put the management of the Treasury into the hands of his creatures, colonels Desborough, Montague, and Sydenham; and removed his family to White-

the officers of the army, to take possession of the chair of state, as Lord-Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland. This invitation accepted, the usurper sat down, with his head covered, whilst the court continued bare. He was then, by the lords-commissioners, delivered up the purse and seals; by the lord-mayor, the sword; and, after the form of redelivering these, the court rose, and returned in the following manner to Whitehall. First, the aldermen and the members of the council; after them the judges; and after the judges the commissioners of the great-seal; the commissioners of the great-seal were followed by the life-guard, and four serjeants at arms, carrying the maces belonging to the courts of Chancery, the council, and Parliament. The lord-mayor went immediately before the usurper, with the sword; the officers of the army round about his person. At Westminster-Hall-gate they took coach, when the lord-mayor rode bareheaded, and carried the sword, in the boot of the usurper's coach. At the Banqueting-House at Whitehall, the company had an exhortation made them by Mr. Lockier, chaplain to the usurper; and this last ceremony over, they were dismissed by three volleys of shot from the soldiery.

Ludlow, on the subject of Cromwell's inauguration, writes, " Things being thus prepared, the lord-mayor and aldermen were required to attend in their scarlet gowns at Whitehall; whither when they came the design was imparted to them, and they, being under the power of an army, were forced to act a part in this pageantry, by accompanying Cromwell to Westminster-Hall." *Parl. Hist.* vol. XX. p. 247, & seq. *Ludlow*, p. 183.

hall,

Ann. 1653. hall, an appendage of royalty, which, for the purpose of his future state, he had carefully preserved from the zeal of the Republican Parliament.

Conclusion
of peace.

Whilst the dignity of Liberty existed in the English government, the Dutch had in vain reiterated their request for a treaty of peace and cessation of hostilities. These, on any other terms than that of coalition, were peremptorily denied; and the English fleet, after being refitted and equipped, sailed back to the Dutch coast, took a great number of their rich merchantmen, and were so entirely masters of the sea as to prevent any ship from stirring out of the Texell without their permission.

In this low state of their affairs, the United Provinces were harrassed with intestine divisions and the cabals of a faction, who, on the strange pretence of recovering the former importance of their country, were struggling to put the management of its affairs, and the administration of its government, into the hands of an infant of the Orange race. A revolution, on the same principles, in the government of their enemies, preserved them from that destruction with which they would undoubtedly have been overwhelmed by the magnanimous and patriotic spirit of the deposed Republicans. Whether it was from the opinion that such an extension of the British empire would be an additional obstacle to his ambitious views, or whether he envied the Parliament the glory of annexing the United Provinces to the Republic of England, certain it is that the intrigues of Cromwell had protracted

tracted the issue of that war*; and now, when, ^{Ann. 1653} by the assistance of the Dutch ambassador †; he had mounted to the seat of empire, the United Provinces no longer found that unconquerable inflexibility of counsel which had foiled all their endeavors to obtain a peace. Negotiations of such a nature had been continually advancing from the first period of Cromwell's administration; and at length, on the fifteenth of April, 1654, a peace was signed by the ^{Ann. 1654} usurper, in which the articles of coalescence, and an exclusive right of the English to the British fisheries, were entirely given up; and where, after a series of signal victories, with the entire ruin of the Dutch trade (a circumstance on which their very existence as a state depended), no better terms were procured for the English than the following: A defensive league between the two Republics; the superiority of the flag yielded to the English; the United Provinces to punish the authors of the massacre of Amboyna, if they were yet alive; to send commissioners to London to adjust the disputes of the several India companies of both nations; to settle the amount of the losses sustained by the English in the East-Indies, Brazil, Muscovy, Greenland, &c. that restitution may be made by the States-General; and if the

* The English would have had the Dutch entirely at their mercy, had they taken the proper advantages of the complete conquest they gained over them near the coast of Flanders, with the distraction which the jarring of two parties, viz. the Republicans and the adherents of the Orange families, at that period occasioned in their domestic affairs.

† According to Ludlow, Nieuport (the Dutch ambassador) had been active in the cabal to raise Cromwell to the seat of empire.

Ann. 1654. commissioners appointed by the two nations should not be able to adjust the points in dispute, then the decision of them to be left to the Swiss Cantons. The king of Denmark, who had insulted the English Republic by seizing the ships of their merchants in the port of Copenhagen, was included in the treaty, on the States-General engaging to make good the losses these individuals had sustained; and the state of Holland, in compliance to the jealous apprehensions of Cromwell, and at the instigation of De Wit, signed a private article which perpetually excluded the Orange family from being Stadholders, captains-general, or admirals of their republic*. The commissioners, when they arrived, agreed to restore the isle of Poleron to the English; to make satisfaction to the heirs and executors of those who had been massacred at Amboyna; and to furnish nine hundred thousand livres, at two different pay-

* “ The peace was at last signed by Cromwell, now invested with the dignity of Protector, says Mr. Hume, and sufficiently proves that the war had been very impolitic; since, after the most signal victories, no better terms could be obtained.” This observation of Mr. Hume shews, that, with other judicious men, he does not regard the peace the usurper made with the Dutch as adequate to the success which had attended the English arms; but Mr. Hume produces no evidence to prove that a better peace could not have been obtained. According to the undoubted authority of Stubbes, the Dutch had offered more advantageous terms to the Parliament, and were refused. The usurper’s peace with the Dutch is neither the first nor the last instance, where the victories of this brave nation have been prostituted to the ends of self-interest; but such apparent proflituation is by no means a sufficient reason to warrant the affirmation that this or other wars have not began on rational and good grounds. *Hume*, vol. II. p. 55.

ments,

ments; by way of composition for all the other ^{Ann. 1654.} pretensions England might have against them*.

Great were the joy and exultation of the Dutch on the circumstances of a revolution which had checked the towering glories of the English empire, and, from the ruin of a destructive war, had raised them to a condition of treating almost on equal terms with an invincible enemy. Medals were struck in honor of the peace, and poetical panegyrics were composed on their patron Cromwell. Nor was such detestable flattery confined to the foreign enemies of England. The two universities of Cambridge and Oxford, notwithstanding the favor and mercy which had been shewn them by the Republican Parliament †, had maintained a perfect silence on the subject of their heroic administration; yet now that the former corrupt system of government was revived, and lucrative benefices were again to become the wages of sycophant iniquity, their scientific muse was no longer mute, but sang of the happiness of their country, and the glories of the peace-

* This was taken as a composition for the damages the English East-India company had sustained from the Dutch, tho' the Parliament had computed the sum-total to amount to above sixteen hundred thousand pounds.

† The universities of Cambridge and Oxford, by the malignancy of their conduct, had forfeited all pretence to favor; yet were they especially considered in the act which abolished episcopacy: And the Parliament had taken such care in reforming the discipline and directing the studies of these scientific bodies, that, from the benign and salutary influence of their patronage and protection, principles of truth, morals, and liberal learning were laid deep enough, to require, at the restoration of regal government, the exertion of great pains and ingenuity to bring them back to their former errors and impurity.

Ann. 1654. maker, in the same adulatory style in which she had celebrated the inaugurations and the illustrious actions of every prince which had sat on the English throne.

Ordinances
of the
usurper.

Either from motives equally vicious as were those which had excited the exertion of the talents of these academicians, or from principles of fear, the chief magistrates of the city of London, with a very costly entertainment, paid an early court to Cromwell * ; who, with the

* On Ash-Wednesday, the day appointed for the city entertainment, the usurper, attended by his council and the principal officers of the army, with his life-guard, and many persons of quality, paraded it in great state from Whitehall to Temple-Bar. Here the lord mayor and aldermen waited for him ; and the lord-mayor advancing to his coach, presented to him the city-sword. This being returned, the recorder, in a high-flown speech, made the usurper the compliments of the city. After this ceremony, the usurper mounted his horse of state, rode in a kind of triumph through the principal streets ; several companies in their livery-gowns being placed on each side on scaffolds erected for the purpose, and the lord-mayor carrying the sword of state before him to Grocers Hall, where a magnificent entertainment was provided. After dinner, the usurper assumed that piece of regal grandeur the knighting the lord mayor, and made him a present of his sword. The bells rang all the day ; and on the usurper's taking leave of the city, the Tower-guns were fired.

The city had more than once complimented the Republican party, when in power, with an entertainment.

On the subject of the civility they at this time shewed to Cromwell, Ludlow writes, that it was principally contrived to let the world understand how good a correspondence there was between him and the capital ; yet that, amongst discerning men, it had a contrary effect : They perceived it to be an act of force rather than of choice ; that this appeared in the great silence, and little respect which was given him, in his passage through the streets ; that he, to invite such respect, rode bare-headed the greatest part of the way ; but though some of his creatures had placed themselves at the entrance of Cheapside, and began to shout, yet it took not at all with the people."

assistance

assistance of his council, had made a full use of ^{Ann. 1654.} the liberty allowed by the instrument of government, in the making laws to defend his usurped authority. In one ordinance, he continued the excise; in another, the style of writs, &c. was changed from “the keepers of the liberty of England, by authority of Parliament,” to “the Lord-Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging;” in another he repealed the oath called an Engagement against a single person and house of Peers *; in another it was declared to be high-treason to compass or imagine the death of the Lord-Protector; to deny that the Lord-Protector and the people in Parliament assembled were the supreme authority in the nation; to deny that the exercise of the chief-magistracy and administration of the government were in the Lord-Protector; to assert that such government was tyrannical, usurped, or unlawful; to assert that there was any Parliament now in being; or to endeavor to raise force against the present government.

Irritating as were these exertions of tyranny founded in force, they did not produce any sudden commotions among the Republicans. That illustrious body with patience waited the period when, according to the instrument of government, a free Parliament was to be called to consider on and settle the constitution of the church and state. And this in general was the

* Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, one of Cromwell's partisans, had made an unsuccessful motion for the repeal of this act by the last Parliament.

Ann. 1654. principle which disposed the minds of all parties to abstain from an immediate opposition. The acquiescence, either active or passive, was almost universal; and the short-lived calm which attended the commencement of the usurper's reign, was only disturbed by an idle plot of a few petulant Royalists; who having been accused of conspiring against his life, their two leaders, Gerrard (an officer) and Vowell (a schoolmaster), were tried by the new ordinance declaratory of treason; but as there were no juries to be found who would act by the dictates of the present legislators, they received their condemnation from the tribunal of an high court of justice erected for the purpose.

Nov. 22,
1653.

July 5,
1654.

Don Pontaleon Sa, a knight of Malta, a brother-in-law to the Portuguese ambassador, and joined with him in the same commission, to revenge himself for a supposed insult, had outraged the laws of society by coming armed with his attendants on the Exchange, and murdering a gentleman whom he mistook for the person who had given him offence. In the ambassador's house, where they had taken shelter, the offenders were seized, brought to trial, and condemned; and notwithstanding the protestations of all the fraternity residing in England, who pleaded the privileges of the office, Don Pontaleon Sa was executed, on the same scaffold † on which Gerrard the Royalist

† One only of Pontaleon's accomplices suffered. Cromwell reprieved three, though such exertion of power was contrary to an article in the instrument of government, which denied the supreme governor the liberty of granting pardon for murder.

had

had suffered †, who proved to be the very individual on whom the resentment of the Portuguese was intended to fall. Though this act of justice was regarded as a very atrocious insult on the king of Portugal, yet that monarch had been reduced so low by the Republican Parliament that he was obliged to acquiesce; and his ambassador, on the very same day his brother suffered, signed with the usurper a treaty of peace and alliance, which was very advantageous to the English commerce ^{Ann. 1654. July 10.} *

The people had been flattered, that they were again to be trusted with the possession of

† On Don Pontaleon and his accomplices taking refuge with his brother, a mob gathered, surrounded the ambassador's house, and threatened to drag out the criminals to punishment. Instead of sending troops to annoy the innocent multitude, who were acting on principles of justice, Cromwell had the prudence and magnanimity to dispatch an officer, with a party of soldiers, to demand the murderer. He refused the ambassador an audience on the subject; and sent him word, that if his brother and his accomplices were not given up, the people would not be appeased, nor could he answer for the consequence. The honor of this glorious act of justice is chiefly due to the Short Parliament; as it was during the period of their government that Don Pontaleon was committed to Newgate, though he was not tried and executed till the year after. *Rapin, vol. XIII. p. 101, & seq. Oldmixon, p. 419.*

* The following article in the peace, That the English merchants should enjoy liberty of conscience in the worship of God in their own houses and aboard their ships, offended so highly the bigotry of the Portuguese monarch, that he refused to ratify what his ambassador had signed. But the admirals Blake and Montague appearing on the Portugal coast, with a strong fleet, not only removed the interruption which the king's scruples of conscience had occasioned, but had Portugal so much at their mercy, that, according to the opinion of Montague, any imposed terms must have been submitted to. The demand made by the usurper was instantly complied with; a demand which fully answered his private purposes; viz. A large sum of money.

Ann. 1654 some share of the legislative power: That important æra now approached; and, according to the dictates of the instrument of government, which appointed a Parliament in September 1654, the usurper issued out writs for the meeting of such an assembly on the third of that month; a day signalized by the two important victories of Dunbar and Worcester, and which on this account he always regarded as peculiarly fortunate to himself.

In the distributing and conducting elections, the instrument of government had in every particular followed a plan prescribed by the Republican Parliament *. The small boroughs, to whom such privilege had been granted for the support of ministerial influence and corruption, were deprived of their right of election. Of four hundred members, the number appointed to represent England, two hundred and seventy were chosen by the counties; the rest were elected by London and the most considerable corporations; and an estate of two hundred pounds value, real or personal, was requisite to entitle to the privilege of a vote. All those Royalists and their sons who had borne arms

* The Parliament were about to pass an act for a free representative on this plan, at the very period of their dissolution; after which the act was seized out of the clerk's hand by Cromwell. It is to be observed, that though the army adopted the very plan which the Parliament had lain down for an equal representative, Cromwell urges, in vindication of the violence committed on them, that by the act then in passing they were about to deliver up the honest party into the power of the Royalists and Presbyterians. The Parliament, during the intermediate period between the breaking up of one Parliament and the meeting of another, intended to vest the supreme power in a council of state.

against

against the Parliament, all Papists, and all who had abetted the rebellion in Ireland, were deprived of the liberty of electing or being elected. Thirty members were to be returned from Scotland, and as many from Ireland ^{Ann. 1654.} *

The plan of so equal a representation of the people was the last testimony which the Republican Parliament were suffered to give of their patriotic spirit and legislative virtue. A grateful remembrance of their conduct remained on the minds of the people; and as the elections were every where conducted with freedom, the most noted members of that illustrious assembly were chosen to represent their country on the present important occasion.

The partizans of Liberty were not wanting in their duty, to seize the only opportunity which offered to serve that public cause. On the morning of the third of September, the day appointed for the meeting of Parliament, the house was full of members. Cromwell had the arrogance to give the assembly the trouble of waiting on him twice in the Painted Chamber. On the second day of their attendance †, he endeavored to vindicate his usurpation on

* It is plain, by the contradictions to be found in the instrument of government, the army endeavored to reconcile those two opposites in policy, a military government with the principles of Liberty.

† The only matter which Cromwell communicated to the Parliament on the first day of their attendance was, that on the morrow-morning there would be a sermon preached in the Abbey-Church, where he intended to be present; that he had something to communicate to them in reference to the great affairs of the commonwealth, not so fit to be delivered on that day, being Sunday, and therefore desired they would meet him again the next morning in the same place.

Ann. 1654. the impudent pretence of necessity ; and, with his usual strain of blasphemous hypocrisy, protested, that it was by the over-ruling hand of God, and not by any contrivance of his own, that he was raised to the state of eminence he then held in the government of his country. After much virulent abuse on all the different denominations * of Republicans, and as ill-founded commendation on that constitution and civil subordination which, for the purposes of his own ambition, he had been so instrumental in destroying, and which for the same infamous ends he was now endeavoring to re-establish in his own person ‡, he launched out into an high strain of panegyric on the instrument of government, by which himself had been invested with sovereignty ; and on the happy effects which the empire had already reaped, both in its domestic and foreign concerns, from his wife and

The following is the state with which the usurper paraded it from Whitehall to Westminster, and from thence to the Painted Chamber.

In the first of the procession were some hundreds of gentlemen, with the life-guards ; next, immediately before his coach, his pages and lackies, richly dressed ; on the right of the coach, Walter Strickland, one of his council and captain of his guards, with the master of the ceremonies, both on foot ; on the left, captain Howard, of the life-guards ; in the coach with him were his son Henry and general Lambert, both bareheaded ; after the coach rode Claypole, master of the horse, with a led horse, richly trapped ; next, the commissioners of the great-seal and of the Treasury, divers of the council in coaches, and the ordinary guards. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XX. p. 316, & seq.

* Anabaptists, Fifth-monarchy-men, and Levellers. By Levellers, says Thurloe (secretary to Cromwell), we mean commonwealths-men.

† Cromwell, in this speech, takes great pains to reconcile the aristocratical party to his views.

powerful

powerful administration †. He exhorted the ^{Ann. 1654.} members to assist him in the settling the civil and ecclesiastical constitution on a firm basis; and concluded his speech with an affected moderation, which yet carried with it an insolent intimation of independant power: “ I desire you to believe, says he, that I speak not to you as one that woud be a lord over you, but as one that is resolved to be a fellow-servant with you to the interest of this great affair.”

On the return of the Parliament to their house they chose Lenthall for their speaker *,

† On the happy situation of the empire, in regard to its foreign concerns, Cromwell not only boasted of the peace which the vigorous administration of the Long Parliament had enabled him to make with the Danes and Portuguese, but of the infamous treaty he had concluded with the Dutch. On its situation in regard to domestic concerns, he boasted of a commission he had given to several individuals to consult on a reformation of the laws; of an ordinance he had published for a reformation of the court of Chancery, and another for the regulation of public preaching. In the last ordinance, which was drawn up on similiar principles and similiar rules to those on which the last Parliament had endeavored to establish reformation, he attempted to please both the Presbyterians and Independants; but, in the ordinance for a reformation of the court of Chancery, there were so many objections in respect to the increasing the powers of that court, the subjecting individuals to injury, and the delaying rather than the expediting the determination of suits, that Sir Thomas Widrington, Whitlock, and Lenthall, who had hitherto gone all lengths with the usurper, desired to resign their office of commissioners of the great seal.

* On the election of Lenthall to this office, Clarendon observes, that Cromwell, being well acquainted with his temper, concluded that he would be made a property in this as he had been in the Long Parliament, when he always complied with that party which was most powerful; and other persons, who meant nothing that Cromwell did, were well pleased that he should be in the chair, out of hope that it might facilitate the renewing and reviving the former house, which they looked

upon

Ann. 1654. and entered into an examination of that instrument of government on the authority of which the usurper pretended to hold his power; and though the Cromwellists had, by a majority of fifty, quashed a motion made by the Republicans, that no act or ordinance declaring the offences of treason should extend to freedom of speech in Parliament, they discussed the topic of his new dignity with such freedom * and with such success, that all which could be obtained by his party was, by protracting the debates, to prevent the decision of a question which it was apparent would be carried against them †.

Force on
the Parlia-
ment. The usurper, enraged at a refractory spirit which threatened the humbling his greatness,

upon as the true legitimate Parliament, strangled by the tyranny of Cromwell. On such grounds, the Republicans endeavored to bring the house to a declaration that the authority of the Long Parliament was yet in force. *Clar. Hist.* vol. III. p. 387, & seq.

* One member in this debate said, that as God had made him instrumental in cutting down tyranny in one person, so could he not endure to see the nation's Liberties shackled by another, whose right to the government could not be measured, otherwise than by the length of the sword, which alone had emboldened him to command his commanders. Another member, colonel Whetham, applied to the usurper the saying of the prophet to Ahab: "Hast thou killed and also taken possession." Ludlow writes, that in this debate Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Scott, and many other Republicans, but more especially the lord-president Bradshaw, were very instrumental in opening the eyes of the young members, who had never before heard their interest so clearly stated and asserted; so that the commonwealth-party increased daily, and that of the sword lost ground. *Clar. Hist.* vol. III. p. 388. *Ludlow*, p. 190.

† The question agitated was, Whether the house did approve that the government should be in one single person and a Parliament?

and

and the kindling a general war against his authority, again sent for the Parliament into the Painted Chamber ; where, in very insolent terms, he inveighed against their conduct ; told them, that nothing could be more absurd than their disputing his title ; that the same instrument of government which made them a Parliament had invested him with the Protectorate ; that as they were entrusted in some things, so was he in others * ; that some points in the new constitution were supposed to be fundamentals, and were not on any pretence to be altered or disputed ; he pretended, that the few flattering addresses he had received from his partizans, the entertainment bestowed on him by the city of London, with the acquiescence of the judges and other civil officers, were a full testimony of the public assent to the taking on himself the state of sovereignty : A condition, he said, which, though he had not sought, but had rather courted a private station †, yet, in obedience to the call of God, and in regard to the safety of those who had acted under him, he was determined to defend ; and on such reasons, the conduct of that assembly had necessitated him to prescribe to them a form of recognition to his government, which they must submit to sign before they could meet any more as a Parliament.

On the return of the members to their house, Transactions of Parliament. they found a guard placed to prevent their re-

* These were the same arguments which, on occasions something similar, had been used by the late King.

† To the truth of this reiterated barefaced falsity, Cromwell reiterated a solemn appeal to God.

Ann. 1654. entry, till they had subscribed an engagement to be true and faithful to the Lord-Protector and the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The eminent assertors of Liberty refused to give a sanction to so notorious an act of violence, by rejecting the condition ; and the house, thus garballed, declared Cromwell to be Lord-Protector during his life *. According to the dictates of the instrument of government, they voted the number of standing forces to be kept up in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to be twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse ; they agreed upon the number of ships they thought necessary for the guard of the seas ; and ordered two hundred thousand pounds a-year for the expences of the supreme magistrate, the salaries of his council, judges, foreign intelligence, and the reception of ambassadors. With this revenue, it was resolved, that Whitehall, St. James's House and Park, the Meuse, Somerset-House, Greenwich-House and Park, Hampton-Court, with its honor and manor, Windsor-Castle and Park, the house called the Manor, in or near York, with all

* On the resolution, that, after the death of a Protector, dying in the interval of Parliament, his successor should be elected by the council, it was farther resolved, that the person so to be elected Protector should be such, and no other than such as should, by his good conversation amongst the people of the British empire, manifest himself to be a man of ability, truth, and courage, fearing God and hating covetousness ; provided that he should not be under the age of twenty-five years, no alien or Papist, nor any whose wife was a Papist, nor any of the children of the late king Charles, nor such as should have or might pretend to have title of inheritance unto the supreme government of the nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, or any of them, or any other title than by election.

their

Ludlow.
Journals of
the Com-
mons.

their appurtenances, should be vested in the ^{Ann. 1654.} Lord-Protector and his successors*; an addition of property, which, with other casual profits and fines, increased the yearly income of the sovereign to the sum of near three hundred thousand pounds.

Such concessions and such acquiescence to Cromwell's usurpation, never could have been obtained from a free Parliament; but so little could the imperious temper of this upstart tyrant submit to legal limitation, that, because the Parliament, after providing for his grandeur and safety, had voted a clause to be inserted, to declare that such concession should not be prejudicial to any farther debate or resolution upon the other articles of the instrument of government; because they absolutely refused to entail the sovereignty on his posterity by hereditary right; because it was carried, against the endeavors of his party, that bills should pass into laws though not approved by the Protector; because they refused to enter into a debate concerning an oath to be taken by the Protector and members of Parliament, that they should not consent to alter the government by one single person and a Parliament; because they refused to settle a standing revenue of eleven hundred thousand pounds, for the support of the navy and army, to be at the disposal of the usurper †; because they refused to vest him with

Dissolution
of Parlia-
ment.

* To take away all excitements to vicious ambition, the Republicans had made several attempts to dispose of all these vestiges of royalty; but had always been foiled by Cromwell, who, for some time past, had his eye on the sovereignty.

† Four hundred thousand pounds, for support of the navy, were voted as a standing revenue, not to be diminished or taken

Ann. 1654. the power over the land and sea forces during the sitting of Parliament; because they voted that the laws of the commonwealth should not be altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, nor any new law made, nor any tax, charge, or imposition laid upon the people, but by common consent of the people assembled in Parliament *; he grew enraged at their opposition, summoned their immediate attendance, and, after charging them with an intent to bring all things into confusion by raking into the particulars of the instrument of government; after charging them with neglecting to provide for the pay of the army; after charging them with neglects in establishing the rights of conscience †; after accusing all those of irreligion and blasphemy who did not regard the confusions he had brought on the state by the dissolution of the Long Parliament, and the fatal revolution his treachery had since that period produced, as the particular dispensations of

taken away without consent of the Protector and the Parliament. The sum of seven hundred thousand pounds, for the maintenance of the standing army, was only settled till the meeting of another Parliament.

* The Parliament resolved, that the representative assemblies should be triennial, and that they should have liberty to sit six months without interruption.

† The assuming the character of Protector to the Rights of Conscience, was the means by which Cromwell attached to his interest all the Independants, who were not biased by Republican principles. Ludlow writes, that this Parliament prudently left the settling of the church-government and the liberty that was to be extended to tender consciences (an engine by which Cromwell did most of his work), to the consideration of the next assembly. *Ludlow*, p. 194.

God * ; he, contrary to the oath which he ^{Ann. 1654.} had solemnly taken, not to innovate the rules of that authority by which he held his power, abruptly dissolved the assembly, eleven days ^{Jan. 22,} ^{1655.} antecedent to the expiration of the time appointed by the instrument of government for their sitting without interruption, and before any of their bills had opportunity to pass into acts †.

* The following is a curious specimen of the usurper's abilities in the gifts of preaching and speech-making : " They that shall attribute to this or that person the contrivances and productions of those mighty things God hath wrought in the midst of us, and that they have not been the revolutions of Christ himself, upon whose shoulders the government is laid, they speak against God, and they fall under his hands, without a Mediator ; that is, if we deny the spirit of Jesus Christ the glory of all his works in the world, by which he rules kingdoms, and doth administer and is the rod of his strength, we provoke the Mediator, and he may say, I'll leave you to God—I'll not intercede for you—let him tear you to pieces—I'll leave thee to fall into God's hands—Thou deniest me my sovereignty and power committed to me—I'll not intercede nor mediate for thee—thou fallest into the hands of the living God. Therefore, whatsoever you may judge men for, and say, This man is cunning, and politic, and subtle, take heed, again I say, how you judge of his revolutions as the products of man's inventions."

† Cromwell and his council pretended that the time allotted by the instrument of government for the Parliament's sitting was to be measured by weeks ; *i.e.* four weeks to a month.

C H A P. V.

The conduct of the usurper offensive to all parties.

— *Plan of a general insurrection.* — The plan defeated by the timidity and weak conduct of the Royalists. — The execution of the leaders, and general oppression of the party. — Appointment of major-generals, with arbitrary powers. — *Ingratitude of the usurper.* — Hopeless situation of Charles Stewart. — He retires from France to Cologn. — Cromwell sacrifices the power and interest of England to his ambitious and selfish views. — Heroic conduct and success of Blake in the Mediterranean. — Attack on the Island of Hispaniola. — Defeat of that enterprize. — Acquisition of Jamaica. — Scotland and Ireland reduced to a state of extreme servitude.

Ann. 1655. **T**HE usurper's abrupt and angry dismission of an assembly which he had picked and garballed for the purpose of giving permanence to his tyranny, and which had even gone a dangerous and guilty length in compliance with his inclinations and interest, manifested to all parties the extravagance of his views, and the boundless despotism of his temper. The former violences and interruptions on the civil authority were now no longer regarded by the fanatics as extorted by necessity, or as proceeding from a laudable *zéal* of reformation in their saint Cromwell. The fatal dissolution of the Long Parliament had exasperated all the wise

The usurper's conduct offensive to all parties.

wise and virtuous part of the nation ; as the ^{Ann. 1655.} hasty dismission of the two last conventions had every man not tied by personal interest to the fortunes of the usurper. Bradshaw, a steady and inflexible Republican, the president of that court which had passed condemnation on the late King, and the president of the council of state during the Republic, unawed by the threats and unmoved by the cajolments of Cromwell, refused to give up the office of chief-justice of Chester, which he held by commission from the Long Parliament. Harrison, an honest fanatic, who had gone every length with the usurper whilst he believed him actuated with zeal for religious and civil good, opposed with equal warmth the present as past tyrannies. Major Wildman, instigated by Cromwell, had been very instrumental in encreasing the differences between the army and the Long Parliament ; but he now abhorred the hypocrite who had deluded him, and entered into consultation with colonel Overton, an officer (who had done eminent service in Scotland, who was very popular with the army there, and who, on the same rational grounds, was equally disaffected as Wildman to the government of the usurper), on the means of seizing Monk, and marching the army from Scotland to England. Sir Henry Vane, and the rest of the Republicans, though they entered into no overt acts, were loud in their murmurs against the present tyranny, and stiffly maintained the indissoluble authority of the Long Parliament.

The Royalists, whose hopes for a restoration ^{Plan of a} of regal tyranny in the Stewart family had considerably revived on the destruction of the Re-

Anno. 1655. publican government, encouraged by the dissatisfaction of all parties, entered into a general conspiracy. The eighteenth of April was the day appointed for the rising. Sir Thomas Harris was to head a party in Shropshire; Sir Thomas Middleton in Wales; Sir Henry Slingsby and Sir Richard Maleverer in Yorkshire; Sir Joseph Wagstaff and colonel Penruddock in Wiltshire; Sir Hugh Pollard in Devonshire; and Mr. Arundell in Cornwall. London was full of conspirators. General Maffey was lurking about Bristol; and Wilmot, who had assumed the title of earl of Rochester, in the metropolis.

The plan defeated.

The intelligence of a confederacy so generally diffused among a party notorious for inebriety, and the want of discretion in their hours of jollity, was not difficult to be obtained. Before the arrival of the day intended for rising, some of the conspirators were thrown by the usurper into prison*. The greater number of the rest, terrified by the danger of the undertaking, remained quiet at home. In the West alone the conspiracy broke out into action. Whilst the sheriff and judges were holding the assize, they were interrupted by the entry of two hundred horse, headed by Penruddock, Groves, and

* On the first intelligence of the plot, the usurper sent for the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, required them to take care of the peace of the city, and gave them a commission to raise forces under major-general Skippon. He issued out a proclamation prohibiting horse-races for six weeks; another for putting in execution the laws and ordinances against Jesuits and Romish priests, and for the speedy conviction of Popish recusants; a third for the commanding all persons who had been of the late King's party, or his son's, to depart out of London and Westminster, and from within the distance of twenty miles. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XX. p. 431, & seq.

Jones.

Jones. The sheriff and the judges were made ^{Ann. 1655.} prisoners, and Charles Stewart proclaimed king.

So little concert, or rather such opposition of principle, actuated the enemies to Cromwell's government, so timid were the Cavaliers in action, though bold in undertaking, that the insurgents, contrary to their sanguine expectations, received no competent accession of force *. After the parade of proclamation, they left the town of Salisbury, wandered about the country for some time, and at length, totally disengaged at the inaction of the party, were suppressed by one troop of horse. Wildman, ^{Guthrie} surprised whilst he was looking over a paper of notes, in which were inserted the names and consultations of all the chief conspirators, was taken into custody † by colonel Butler; and thus easily was subdued a conspiracy which the universality of the public discontent rendered very formidable.

The daring tyranny of Cromwell had so entirely subverted, or rather abolished, every principle of Freedom in the constitution; his villainous treachery, his base hypocrisy, the entire ruin of that harvest of Liberty, law, and justice, which was to crown the labors of heroic patriotism, had so shocked and disgusted the commonwealths-men; that many of that party, though from principle and provocation averse

* The utmost number they increased to was four hundred.

† Cromwell, in a long narrative which he set forth to justify his severities to the Royalists, asserts, that Wildman was taken in the act of dictating to his servant the conclusion of a writing, entitled, "The Declaration of the Free and Well-affected People of England, now in arms against the Tyrant Oliver Cromwell." *Parl. Hist.* vol. XX. p. 445.

Ann. 1655. to the restoration of the Stewart family, began to regard such an event, if it could be obtained on terms of limitation, as a more tolerable evil than to wear the chains of a traitor, whose corruption they despised, and whose ingratitude they hated *. Such a disposition in the Republicans, had it met with any rational sentiment in the numerous party of Cavaliers, would have shortly produced the total overthrow of Cromwell's power, and the easy re-establishment of monarchy in the Stewart line ; but the obstinacy of the fugitive Charles, who still talked in the absurd style of indefeasible right, and the barbarous enthusiasm of his adherents †, who seemed to pride themselves in being the principal slaves to the tyrannical pretensions of one man, whilst they disclaimed the practice of tyranny in another, who merely combated on the

* Those who had been the most active in the civil war, and had shewn themselves the greatest enemies to the former tyranny, said openly, they had rather Charles Stewart should come in than to be subject to Cromwell. *Thurloe's State Papers.*

† The following is part of a letter of intelligence to be found in Thurloe's State Papers. "Here is the lord Belkarres, Sir William Keith, and a Scotch minister, sent out of Scotland from the Presbyterians to Charles Stewart, to put him in mind of the covenant he took, and to obtain a new promise of him that he will maintain the privileges of the civil and ecclesiastical government of Scotland. If he will set his hand to this, Belkarres will assure him the most of Scotland will rise presently, and fight to the last man ; they will also condescend to his entertaining all that will fight against you. He hath gained many to be of his opinion ; but so far as I can perceive by discourse, the most of the grandees are not for him : They would have Charles Stewart not admit any into the army but such as come to fight merely for his interest, and make no terms with him which may happily ruin his affairs there." *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. II, p. 576.

mean

mean motive of personal attachment and personal hatred, who corrupted the pure sources of religion with the profane jargon of their political creed, forbade any union of action productive of such a revolution, and secured to the detested Cromwell the enjoyment of his life and power.

The timidity of the Cavaliers had effectually disappointed the hopes of the Republicans in the only use which was intended to have been made of their confederacy ; viz. the drawing the army (the majority of which was supposed to be enemies to Cromwell's government *) together. This disagreeable necessity, the usurper, from the cowardice of his antagonists, luckily avoided ; and the insurrection itself, as it had been so easily subdued, was regarded by him as a very fortunate event. The Parliament, he had dissolved before they afforded him any aid : By the apparent reality of those conspiracies, which his enemies had represented as mere fictions, he was now furnished with an excuse to fleece the Royalists, and (on the pretence of guarding against the effects of their malignancy) to confirm his power and lay new shackles upon all parties. Penruddock, Groves, and other

Execution
of the lead-
ers, and
general op-
pression of
the party.

* On the first intelligence of the Cavalier-plot, Cromwell ordered to his assistance two thousand foot and three hundred horse from Ireland. The troops mutinied, and refused to obey ; a court-martial was summoned ; one company was broke, and one of the most active of the ringleaders condemned to death, and executed, before they could be compelled to embark. The following regiments, quartered in England, were regarded by the opposition as staunch to Republican principles : Rich's, Tomlinson's, Okey's, Pride's, Alured's, Overton's, with some of the general's regiments. *Ludlow*, p. 196. *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. III. p. 147, & seq.

Ann. 1655. leaders of the insurrection, were capitally punished *. The inferior instruments were sold for slaves to the inhabitants of Barbadoes ; and on the whole Royalist faction, under the pretence of their ingratitude for past indulgences, of their obstinate dangerous enmity to their benefactors, and on the principle, it was said, of necessity and self-defence, without regard to compositions, articles of capitulation, or acts of indemnity, was levied the tenth part of their estates †.

Appoint-
ment of ma-
jor-generals,
with arbitra-
ry powers.

To carry this act of tyranny into practice, the whole kingdom was divided first then into eleven military jurisdictions ; and over every one of these was appointed a major-general ‡,

* The offenders were tried on the authority of the usurper's ordinance declarative of high treason. They very sensibly urged to the jury the damage the country would sustain by their condemnation, as it would acknowledge a legislative power in the Protector, contrary to the opinion and the conduct of the late Parliament. *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. III. p. 394.

† The indulgences with which the Royalists had, through the interest of Cromwell, been favored, in order to gain them over to his designs, were urged by the usurper as a great aggravation of their offence. To this they answered, that they did not rise against those who had extended that favor to them, viz. the Parliament, but against an individual, who had dispossessed those men, and established himself in their place. " Truly, observes Ludlow, I cannot tell by what laws of God and men they could have been justly condemned, had they been upon as sure a foundation in what they declared for as they were in what they declared against. But certainly, it can never be esteemed by a wise man to be worth the scratch of a finger to remove a single person, acting by an arbitrary power, in order to set up another with the same unlimited authority." *Ludlow*, p. 197.

‡ Major-generals lord-deputy Fleetwood, lord-president Lambert, major-general Skippon, commissary-general Whalley, general Desborough, colonels Barkstead, Kelsey, Goff, Berry,

with an exorbitant power of police, with a ^{Ann. 1655:} power to levy the new tax on the Royalists, and all the arrears due on their former compositions * and articles. There lay no appeal from the authority of these bashaws, but to Cromwell himself. Their institution set his government entirely free from the thwartings of the courts of justice; and as they had authority to raise what horse and foot were necessary to carry their dictates into execution, it served both as a

Berry, Worley, major Butler. *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. IV.

P. 433.

* The ordinance for decimating the Cavaliers was followed by a severe declaration against the whole party, but in particular against the episcopal clergy: That no persons whose estates had been sequestered for delinquency, or who had been in arms against the Parliament, should keep in their houses, or elsewhere, any arms, offensive or defensive, nor in their houses and families, as chaplains or schoolmasters, for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected ministers, fellow of any college, or schoolmaster, nor permit any of their children to be taught by such; that no person who had been sequestered or ejected out of any college or school for delinquency or scandal should keep any school, either public or private, nor any person who, after the time fixed for the taking place of this declaration, should be ejected for the causes aforesaid; that no person who had been sequestered for delinquency or scandal should preach in any public place, or at any private meeting of any other persons than those of his own family, nor should administer baptism, or the Lord's Supper, or marry any persons, or use the Book of Common-Prayer, or the Forms of Prayer therein contained.

It is to be supposed, that Mr. Hume either never met with or never considered the nature of this declaration, when he made the following observation: "The Church of England Cromwell retained in constraint, though he permitted their clergy a little more liberty than the Republican Parliament had formerly allowed. He was pleased that the superior lenity of his administration should in every thing be remarked." *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. V. p. 249. *Hume*, vol. II. p. 73.

Ann. 1655. nursery for his army, and as a balance against the dangerous notions of freedom and independence, entertained by the majority of the veterans.

Ingratitude
of the
Usurper.

Though the weight of Cromwell's tyranny fell more heavy on the Royalists, whom he could oppress with plausible appearances, and who met with little countenance and protection from his adherents, yet his old comrades the Republicans, on several occasions, felt a great measure of his arrogance, injustice, and ingratitude. The brave and honest Ludlow *, who had refused to acknowledge his government, who had refused to deliver up the commissions he had received from the Parliament, who had refused to engage not to act by virtue of its authority, who had been active in spreading a memento against the conduct and pretensions of Cromwell, drawn up by the Republican party in England, was confined for some time in Ireland ‡; and when, after much solicitation, he was permitted to return to Britain to regulate his private affairs, in order to escape the effects of the usurper's jealousy, he was obliged to confine his residence to the county of Essex, to which place he retired, after having nobly withstood both the cajolments and threats of Cromwell to draw him into an engagement not to act against his authority. Wildman, who had attached himself to Cromwell from the first

* That his presence might not obstruct his ambitious designs, Cromwell had persuaded Ludlow to accept of an office in Ireland.

† Ludlow, by his authority and interest, had retarded the proclaiming Cromwell Protector in Ireland for a fortnight. *Ludlow's Memoirs*, p. 183, & seq.

commencement of the civil commotions, was ^{Ann. 1655,} not only imprisoned, but preparations were made towards his trial, in order for his execution. Harrison, another staunch friend of Cromwell whilst he acted under a Republican character, was sent with Mr. Carew into remote confinement †. Sir Henry Vane was sent prisoner to Carisbroke-Castle in the Isle of Wight ‡; colonel Rich to Windsor; major-general Overton to the Tower; and colonel Lilbourn, who, through many prosecutions and sufferings, had steadily adhered to the principles of democratical Liberty, was tyrannically detained in prison after the acquittal of an indictment of high-treason by a jury of his peers *.

Whilst Cromwell was thus triumphing over opposition in England, the fortunes and hopes of his competitor, Charles Stewart, were re-
Hopeless
situation of
Charles
Stewart.

† The crimes of Harrison and Carew were, the setting on foot a petition to the Parliament for asserting an independent authority.

‡ Sir Henry Vane had published a pamphlet, called the Healing Question, in which was stated the deviation of the present system from the principles on which the late King had been opposed and beheaded. To this publication he had been invited by a declaration issued by Cromwell for a general fast, wherein it was desired that the people would apply themselves to the Lord, to discover that Achian which had so long obstructed the settlement of the distracted empire. On the appearance of this pamphlet, Sir Henry was demanded to give security for his acquiescence and submission; when, instead of such security, he delivered into Cromwell's hands a paper, containing the reasons of his disapprobation of the present government, with a friendly advice to the usurper to return to the duties of a good citizen.

* Colonel Alured, and all the active Republicans, felt in their persons the heavy hand of Cromwell's tyranny, oppression, and ingratitude. *Thurloe's State Papers.*

duced

Ann. 1655. duced to a very low ebb. This prince had taken refuge in France after the battle of Worcester, and though he had performed a very mean and invidious service †, had been treated by that court with great coolness and neglect. He was at length given to understand, that, if he did not withdraw, his absence would be formally desired, and even his person given up, if strenuously insisted on by the English. The gaieties of the French court were too inviting a scene of vicious dissipation to be chearfully quitted by Charles; but there was no resisting necessity. After spending a short time with his sister, the princess-dowager of Orange, at the Spa, he retired to Cologn in Germany; and in this place was supported by a pension of six thousand pounds a-year from the French monarch *. Whilst the general insurrection was in agitation, Charles lay concealed in Zealand, to be ready, on the first favorable opportunity, to head his party in England; but on the ill success of that conspiracy, he returned to Cologn.

^{He retires from France to Cologn.} † When, by order of the court of Spain, the duke of Lorrain advanced to Paris with an army to support the prince of Conde, then at the head of an opposition who had taken up arms against the tyranny of the French administration, Charles Stewart was employed by the court of France to persuade the duke to draw off his forces. The negociation, either from the treachery of Lorrain, or the ill policy of the court of Spain, proved successful. The opposition was sacrificed, and Charles Stewart was very near meeting with the fate he well deserved from the resentment of the French populace. *Guthrie. Clarendon.*

* According to intelligence to be found in Thurloe's State Papers, the Royalists, notwithstanding the reduced state of their fortunes, transmitted to their idol Charles the yearly sum of ten thousand pounds.

The power of England, during the short time Ann. 1655. it had been supported by the energy of Republican government, had become the terror of all Europe. Spain had not only avoided giving umbrage, by affording neither countenance nor assistance to the Stewart family, but, by its professions of esteem and respect, had gained many favors from the Parliament, who were too well acquainted with the advantage the English nation received from trading with Spain to refuse her offered friendship. The court of France, during the contention between the Parliament and their King, endeavored to maintain a kind of neutrality, and, as is the constant fate of neutrals, had disengaged both parties. The Parliament, when they assumed the sovereignty, revenged their want of cordiality, by issuing out letters of reprisal to the English merchants for the injuries they complained of from the French, and by seizing a whole squadron of their ships which were carrying supplies to Dunkirk, at that time closely besieged by the Spaniards. Blake performed this piece of service; and that town, disappointed of its supplies, fell into the hands of the enemy.

In the body politic, as in the body natural, the first decline of a robust constitution is not attended with any great degree of visible weakness or imbecility. Civil contention, that nursery for martial prowess, had produced a warlike spirit in the English which must give at least a temporary strength to any government. Those commanders who had fought with a never-failing success under the banners of a commonwealth, could not forget the art
of

Ann. 1655. of conquering after its extinction ; and England, though declining in its power from the first period of the usurpation, was more than a match for nations enervated by the effects of long-established tyrannies.

Cromwell sacrifices the power and interest of England to his ambitious and selfish views.

Government in an individual is the constant triumph of private interest over public good. Cromwell, from his first entrance into the state of sovereignty, had made no scruple to sacrifice to selfish considerations the new-acquired strength and reputation of a people whose credulity he had grossly deceived, and whose internal welfare he on the same principles had cruelly destroyed. To facilitate the establishment of his usurpation, a peace was concluded with the Dutch, which gave up all the splendid advantages and superiority the nation had acquired by a glorious and successful war. Spain, the useful ally of England in regard to the important article of trade, whose former greatness, by the natural effect of its government, was declined to a degree of impotence which, on the principles of balancing the powers of Europe, required rather support than molestation *, he determined to attack. An easy acquisition of fame and plunder was to be expected from its rich territories and present condition of weakness. The situation of the Protestant states promised neither facility in conquest, nor filling

* Portugal had revolted, and established its monarchy in the house of Braganza ; Catalonia, on account of the oppressions of the Spanish government, had put itself under the protection of the French ; the Low-Countries were invaded with superior forces ; and the Spanish infantry, esteemed formerly almost irresistible, had been in a manner annihilated by Conde, in the fields of Rocroy. *Hume.*

the usurper's coffers by pillage; and to war Ann. 1655. with these, was against the prejudices of his adherents. France, by the vicinity of its neighborhood, the extent of its empire, and its internal advantages, was the natural and dangerous enemy of England; but from France, whose power, by the politic and crafty administration of the cardinals Richlieu and Mazarine, was increasing every day, and rising to a formidable importance, a vigorous resistance was to be expected. The very reasons which would have excited a wise and disinterested administration to have regarded the present state of the French empire with jealous, or rather with hostile attention, were the very reasons which determined the selfish Cromwell to a contrary policy. Spain was at too great a distance either to support or annoy his usurpation; but the vicinity and strength of France, with the close connection of that crown to the banished family, might incline it to attempts which, in the general detestation of his government, would probably be attended with success. Filled with these apprehensions, and equally dreading the effects of repose or action, Cromwell, at the same time that he meditated an attack on Spain, already engaged in a war with France, carried on a close correspondence with Mazarine *;

* In Thurloe we read, that the following were the principal reasons which determined Cromwell and his council to a war with Spain, and to enter into a treaty of peace with the French: That, by entertaining a good and confident correspondence with France, the King of England and his brother might be removed out of France, and thereby a perpetual enmity stated between his said majesty and the king of France, and so all hopes of his restitution by succors from France taken away; that their relation in blood and treaties on the match would

Ann. 1655. and the friendship of the usurper was, in the present situation and views of that government, too advantageous a circumstance not to be courted with avidity.

Heroic conduct and success of Blake in the Mediterranean. Two squadrons, sufficiently considerable to strike a terror into all the neighboring states, were fitted out. One, commanded by the invincible Blake, was sent into the Mediterranean, to demand satisfaction of the grand duke of Tuscany, for some injuries which had been done to the English merchants, and for the entertaining and harboring prince Rupert's fleet. Blake, after obtaining the satisfaction required, sailed to Algiers, freed all the English who had been taken captives by this piratical state, and compelled the dey to a peace by which his subjects were restrained from all farther violences. After the completion of this treaty, Blake presented himself before Tunis, and demanded the restitution of an English ship they had taken, with the liberty of the captives. The dey refused compliance, and bad him look to his castles of Porto Farino and Goletta, and do his worst. Stimulated with this provocation, Blake prepared himself for an achievement regarded

would incline and afford them greater pretences to restore the king than any other state could have; that they could employ in the service, and engage in it, the Protestants of France, which might make dangerous divisions at home; that there was always a great confidence between the French and the Scots; that, as affairs stood in Scotland, it would not be hard to set all in a flame there; that Oliver's competitor residing in Spain was not to be dreaded—it would be rather disadvantageous to his return than otherwise; that Spain had no interest in England, but the Popish; and the Presbyterian party, whom Oliver was desirous of uniting to his interest, had ever shewn a very great aversion towards this state.

by

by, the Tunisines as impossible. To flatter them Ann. 1655. in their security, he sailed off towards Trepano ; but returning the next morning, drew his ships up to the castles, and battered them to pieces with the force of his artillery. After this exploit, he burnt every ship in their harbor, and retreated without other loss than that of twenty-five men killed and wounded. The success of this intrepid action filled all Europe with amazement. The governor of Tripoly concluded a peace with Blake on his own terms ; and the Tunisines readily submitted to all he had demanded on behalf of his country.

The conquest of the Spanish settlements in America, according to the project of one Gage, a reformed priest, had, from the first period of his usurpation, been the object of Cromwell's most serious attention. A squadron of equal size to that which had done so much execution in the Mediterranean, with a large military force, under the command of Pen and Venables, was sent across the Atlantic. In what place to make a descent was left to the judgment of the commanders. Hispaniola it was determined to attempt ; and the land-forces, to the number of nine thousand, were disembarked ten leagues from St. Domingo, the only place of strength in the island. Destitute of guides, they marched forty miles without provision of meat or water ; and, though annoyed by the Spaniards, who had lined the woods with strong ambuscades, reached the town. Here they were decoyed into a defile by one of their treacherous officers, and at length, depressed by the accumulated miseries of hunger, thirst, and fatigue, were

Attack on the island of Hispaniola.

Defeat of that enter- prize.

Ann. 1655. were obliged to desist from the attack, and retire to their vessels.

Acquisition of Jamaica. The evils of discord, sickness, and want had abashed, but not entirely subdued, the courage of the English. Immediately after the unprosperous attempt on Hispaniola, the fleet sailed to Jamaica. The inhabitants, totally unacquainted with the success of their countrymen, imagined the enemy was come warm from the conquest of Hispaniola, and, in a fit of cowardice and despair, delivered up their fertile island without a blow.

Though the possession of Jamaica made ample amends for the defeat at Hispaniola, and though the ill success of that enterprize was entirely owing to the injudicious contrivance of Cromwell (who sent out the fleet ill provided with arms and ammunition, who had united in command, an admiral and a general of tempers very incompatible, had tied them down to the advice of commissioners who thwarted them in every judicious measure, had in the island of Barbadoes collected for his service a sett of banditti, enlisted on the views of great gain, and whose hopes immediately before the landing were disappointed, and consequently their courage abated, by a proclamation which threatened the punishment of death to any man who should secrete any part of the plunder), yet, to vindicate the reputation of the usurper, who affected in arms and politics to be thought infallible, both Pen and Venables were, on their return to England, after an examination by his council, committed to prison.

On the news of the usurper's unwarrantable violation of treaty, the Spaniards declared war against

against England, and seized all the ships and ^{Ann. 1655.} goods of the English merchants, to a great amount. This loss, and the cutting off a commerce so profitable as that with Spain, was ill resented by the trading part of the nation; and to the honor of the soldiery be it recorded, that many of them, entertaining scruples in regard to the justice of the Spanish war *, flung up their commissions, and returned home.

To the Scots and Irish, the Parliament had generously given a full participation of that Republican Liberty they had established in England; but the usurper Cromwell, under the pretext of the union of the three kingdoms into one commonwealth, reduced them to a total subjection. The Stewart faction, in the Highlands of Scotland, had taken up arms under the lord Lorn (son to the marquis of Argyll), the earls of Glencairn and Kentmure; the fickle Lorn soon abandoned the cause, and attempted to betray the party, who were afterwards joined by Middleton, with a reinforcement, from Holland, of men, arms, and ammunition. The party, when united, were sufficiently powerful to keep the English troops, inconsiderable in their numbers, on the defensive; but on the

Scotland and
Ireland re-
duced to a
state of ex-
treme sci-
titude.

* The whole conduct of Cromwell to the Spanish state was dishonorable and piratical. At the same time that Pen had orders to attack them in America, the usurper acted as their ally in Europe. Blake contracted to serve them against the duke of Guise (who was then making a descent on Naples, but escaped the English fleet); whilst, on the authority of secret instructions, he lay in wait to intercept the Spanish Plate fleet, which was cruising off Cape Maries, and which, on the faith of treaties, would have fallen into his hands had the Spaniards not received intelligence of his designs. *Thurloe's State Papers.*

Ann. 1655. arrival of Monk, with an additional force, they were totally subdued. This ill-timed and ill-supported opposition, though entirely confined to the partizans of the Stewart family, afforded Cromwell the pretext of treating the whole country as a conquered province; an army of ten thousand men was maintained, and a long line of forts and garrisons erected through the whole kingdom; its civil administration was placed in a council, the majority of which was English, and the lord Broghill, an Irishman, and a servile tool of Cromwell, its president; vassalage was abolished, the office of justice of peace introduced, and the higher departments of judicature placed in seven judges, four of whom were English. The rights of the church of Scotland, in reference to the calling together, and power of assemblies and synods, were entirely destroyed; commissioners were appointed for the sale of the Royalists estates; Cromwell was proclaimed Protector; and an ordinance, in which was passed the burthen the Scots were to bear in the public expences was proportioned; with an act for the uniting Scotland to England.

The interest of Cromwell, in the Parliament, had been sufficiently powerful to procure the government of Ireland to be chiefly vested in the hands of his creatures and allies. After the death of Ireton, its administration was trusted to Fleetwood, son-in-law to Cromwell, by a marriage with Ireton's widow. Fleetwood, a fanatic of a weak character, readily acquiesced in Cromwell's usurpation; but Cromwell, entertaining some jealousy of his subsequent conduct and inclinations, displaced him from his command, and sent over his son Henry, in the character

character of viceroy. The Popish faction in ^{Ann. 1655.} Ireland had been entirely subdued by the Parliament of England; and the Protestants, to their eternal reproach be it remembered, almost universally, without any face of opposition, submitted to a government purely arbitrary, established by the usurper *.

* On an intimation from Cromwell, that the present disposition of the times demanded particular persons to be called by writ to Parliament, the Irish administration was inclined to have complimented him and his council with the nomination of the thirty members which were to be returned for Ireland; but were diverted from the measure by the following arguments urged by Ludlow: " Seeing, says he, we have no more of Liberty left but the name, let us at least retain the form, in hopes that in time men may become so sensible of their own interest as to be enabled thereby to recover the efficacy and substance."

The government of Ireland was at this time vested in commissioners who had been appointed by the late Parliament; but the usurper, doubting whether they would prove quite so tractable as was necessary, sent over an order to annul their authority, and to appoint Fleetwood deputy, with others, his more determined creatures, to be of his council. In the year 1655, Fleetwood was recalled; and Henry Cromwell, acting as lord-deputy, received and put in execution, as agreeable to that kingly spirit of government which the usurper had with fraud and violence re-established, the following instructions: To reserve for the use of the state the crown, church, and corporation lands; to grant new charters to such cities and corporations as had forfeited them, and as the deputy and council should approve; to reserve a penny half-penny yearly to his highness out of every acre assigned the Irish in Connaught; to grant letters patent to the officers, soldiers, and other Protestant proprietors; to corroborate the titles and manors created on their estates; to supply the vacant church-livings in Ulster with English ministers; to remove all the Scots inhabiting Ulster and Lowth, whether delinquents or not; to permit no other Scots to reside there; to erect courts for probates of wills in every three counties; to appoint the judges and registers, and settle their fees; to erect a Prerogative-Court at Dublin, with power to receive appeals from the inferior courts; to re-settle

C H A P. VI.

Ill policy and necessities of Cromwell.—Parliament.—Fraud and violence used in elections.—Violation of the privileges of Parliament.—Transactions of Parliament.—Humble Petition and Advice.—Cromwell refuses the offered crown.—Is confirmed in the Protectorate.—New session of Parliament.—Dissolution of Parliament.—Success of Blake.—His death and character.—League offensive and defensive between Cromwell and the French king.—Dunkirk delivered into the hands of Cromwell.—Conspiracies.—Executions.—Sickness and death of Cromwell.—Review of his administration.—His character.

Ann. 1656.

Ill policy
and necessities
of
Cromwell.

CROMWELL had coerced a despotism on the English, without either a competent knowledge of the human character, or the common principles of government and policy. Neither deeply laid nor systematically formed, his expedients had been all temporary, but in their consequences soon found dangerous and destructive to the end proposed. The instrument of government was a medley of contradictory regulations, neither fit to form the basis of tyranny nor the basis of Freedom; and the large power and jurisdiction lately conferred on

settle a court of Admiralty as formerly. *Ludlow's Memoirs.*
Warner's Hist. of the Rebellion.

the

the major-generals rendered them as formidable to the usurper as they were noxious to the people.

As these offices had been all conferred on the Parliament. most staunch of Cromwell's friends and adherents, it would have been a dangerous measure for him to have withdrawn the trust he had reposed. The authority of Parliament was necessary to execute that invidious task, to new-model the form of government, and to replenish his empty coffers; which, notwithstanding the large sums exacted from foreign nations on treaties of peace and alliance, the considerable captures at sea, the heavy taxes he had raised, and the late excessive impositions laid on the Royalists, were exhausted by the enormous expence necessary to support his arbitrary power, with the parade, pomp, and ostentation of his living *.

* Among the various schemes of Cromwell to obtain money, a treaty was set on foot with the Jews for granting them, on pecuniary conditions, a settlement in England, with all the privileges of the Protestant natives, and a full toleration of their religion. The general outcry of the public rendered this scheme abortive. Prynne published a remonstrance on the occasion, in which he argued, that the permitting the Jews to reside in England, according to their proposals, was highly criminal; that it was an affront offered to the Son of God, the author of our redemption; that for Cromwell to grant the Jews the public exercise of their religion, when he and his council had so lately passed an ordinance prohibiting thousands of Christian ministers the preaching the Gospel, was in the highest degree unreasonable and unjust; that the argument urged for admission of the Jews, upon the hope of their being converted to Christianity, was only to cover the design of bringing a large sum of money into the Protector's coffers; that it was a bargain similar to the execrable proposal made by Simon Magus to the Apostles. *A Short Demurrer to the Jews long-discontinued Remitter into England.*

Ann. 1656. A Parliament, in the present exigence of affairs, it was necessary to summon; but so thoroughly acquainted was the usurper with the unpopularity of his government, that art and violence were used to influence elections, and fill the house with his own creatures; and, when every unwarrantable precaution had been practised, the usurper yet finding that the majority of returned members would be unfavorable to his interests, he set guards on the door of the house, and permitted none to enter but such as produced a warrant from his council, who had rejected above one hundred.

Harris's Life of Cromwell.
Parl. Hist.
Journals of Commons.
Violation of the privileges of Parliament.
Transactions of Parliament.

The seventeenth of September was the day on which the pretended representatives met. The excluded members complained to the house of the force which had been put upon them by the soldiers. The clerk of the commonwealth in Chancery, who had signed the tickets of admission, was ordered to attend; and on examination confessed, that he had received an order from Cromwell's council to deliver tickets to such persons only, as should be certified to him as persons by them approved. When the council of state was demanded their reason for excluding the members, they returned in answer, That whereas by a clause in the instrument of government it was ordained, that the persons who should be elected to serve in Parliament should be such, and no other than such, as were persons of known integrity, fearing God, and of good conversation; they, in pursuance of their duty, and according to the trust reposed in them, had not refused to approve any who had appeared to them to be persons of integrity to the government, fearing God, &c. and for those

those they had not approved, his highness had Ann. 1656. taken care that they should not be admitted into the house. On this arrogant pretension of the council to garble the house at pleasure, it was resolved by that infamous assembly (who had chosen Sir Thomas Withrington, a creature of Cromwell, for their speaker), that the persons who had been returned from the several counties, cities, and boroughs, to serve in Parliament, and had not been approved, should be referred to make their application to the council for an approbation. On the passing of this memorable resolution, no less than sixty who had obtained admittance absented themselves; and the excluded members published a remonstrance against Cromwell's arbitrary government, with a protestation against the illegal assembly at Westminster, who had taken upon them the authority of a Parliament.

The house was now properly composed for the business for which it was assembled. They proceeded to pass a bill for renouncing and disannulling the title of Charles Stewart; and another for declaring it high-treason to attempt the life of the usurper, who, at the time of his passing bills, was to be attended by his council and the great officers of state, and his consent to be entered by the clerk at the back of each bill. It was unanimously resolved, that the war against Spain was undertaken on just and necessary grounds; that it was agreeable to the interests of England; and that the Parliament did approve and would assist his highness therein.

The base compliance of the house in acquiescing in every motion which had been made to

Humble Petition and Advice.

Ann. 1656. establish the grandeur, and further the designs of Cromwell, at length encouraged him to push his ambitious projects to their utmost extent. Not satisfied with the unlimited power he had so unjustly acquired, his insatiable vanity prompted him to aspire to the title of King. The inclinations of the house were at first founded by colonel Jephson; and at length a new instrument of government, in which the chief magistrate was invested with all the regal prerogatives, was presented to the house by Pack, an alderman of the city of London, and a professed creature of the usurper. Though in this instrument of government, a blank was left for the title of the supreme magistrate, yet it was understood in the assembly that of King was intended. A proposal of such importance, made by a man of a low contemptible character, at first excited great heat and disorder. Pack was borne down from the upper part of the house to the bar. The major-generals, whose power (by a motion from Henry Cromwell, a nephew of the usurper, which was seconded by Claypole, his son-in-law) had been annihilated, were exasperated at an affront put on them by the man whose interests they had iniquitously supported *. They declaimed with vehemence against the conferring on him new honors, and more established power. The major-generals were joined by most of the military men, with other the usual adherents of the usurper; and none was more fierce in the op-

* By all the oppressive means their power afforded them, the major-generals had been very instrumental in packing the present Parliament. *Harris's Life of Cromwell.* *Thurloe's State Papers.*

position than Lambert, who had been duped Ann. 1656. into assisting Cromwell in the attainment of power, on the promise or the hope of becoming his successor. The members suffered to sit, had been too judiciously culled not to secure a majority of votes on all occasions: The warmth which Pack's motion at first excited, soon subsided. The lord Broghill, serjeant Glyn, and other corrupt lawyers, brought the matter into debate. The instrument of government, entitled the Humble Petition and Advice, was read and consented to, with little alteration, article by article; and, on a second question concerning the title to be borne by the chief magistrate, the blank was filled up with that of King.

Notwithstanding this success, Cromwell had Cromwell refuses the offered crown. the courage to accept, without hesitation, offered over to his views Fleetwood, Desborough, Ludlow. Lambert, and other his intimate friends and relations, the main supporters of his tyranny, Parl. Hist. had been vain. A committee of Parliament was appointed to overcome his scruples. The prostitution of the lawyers went so far as to call the present despotism a circumstance of necessity; a necessity which must exist in the constitution till it returned to its old forms. They supported their arguments in favor of monarchy, on the weak principle of continued custom and prescription; availed themselves of the barbarous authority of our Gothic ancestors, in the predilection to monarchy, in times when the principles of government and civil society, the rights of Nature, and the regulations necessary to preserve those rights, were as little understood as

Ann. 1656. as the most abstruse points in theology, and affirmed that monarchy was the legal government of the country, notwithstanding it had been abolished by the unanimous voice of the Republican Parliament.

It is to be supposed that the arguments urged by the committee had their full weight with Cromwell; but as he wanted time to work an alteration in the opinions of his friends, his answer (if a string of unmeaning periods can be called an answer) was yet undecisive and irresolute.

“ I confess, says he, for it behoves me to deal plainly with you—I must confess, I would say—I hope I may be understood in this; for indeed I must be tender in what I say to such an audience as this—I say, I would be understood, that, in this argument, I do not make parallel betwixt men of a different mind and a Parliament, which shall have their desires. I know there is no comparison, nor can it be urged upon me that my words have the least color that way, because the Parliament seems to give liberty to me to say any thing to you; as that, that is a tender of my humble reasons and judgment and opinion to them, and if I think they are such, and will be such to them, and are faithful servants, and will be such to the supreme authority and the legislative, wheresoever it is. If, I say, I should not tell you, knowing their minds to be so, I should not be faithful, if I should not tell you so, to the end you may report it to the Parliament. I shall say something for myself, for my own mind, I do profess it, I am not a man scrupulous about words or names, or such things I have not. But as I have the word of God, and I hope I shall ever have

Conference
at White-
Hall.

have it, for the rule of my conscience, for my ^{Ann. 1656} informations; so truly, men that have been led in dark paths, through the providence and dispensation of God; why surely, it is not to be objected to a man; for who can love to walk in the dark? but Providence does so dispose. And though a man may impute his own folly and blindness to Providence sinfully, yet it must be at my peril; the case may be, that it is the providence of God that doth lead men in darkness. I must needs say, that I have had a great deal of experience of Providence; and though it is no rule without or against the word, it is a very good expositor of the word in many cases."

The whole of Cromwell's discourse was of a piece with this ensample: But though he did not own himself convinced by the arguments which had been urged by the committee, it was not difficult to perceive, through the dark cloud of this confused, embarrassed, unintelligible jargon, which way his inclinations and intentions pointed. The enemies to monarchy took the ^{Ludlow's Memoirs.} alarm: Fleetwood and Desborough endeavored to awaken the usurper's apprehensions, by assuring him that the offer of the crown was a trap laid for him by the friends of Charles Stewart, which if he accepted, he would infallibly draw ruin on himself and friends, and threatened to throw up their commissions the instant such an event took place *. Cromwell yet seemed de-

* In a conversation with Fleetwood and Desborough, after Cromwell had used many unavailing arguments to persuade them to concur with his scheme of royalty, he condescended so low as to solicit their indulgence: "It is but a feather in a man's cap, said he; and therefore it is surprizing you will not

Ann. 1656. determined to gratify his ambition, at the peril of his own safety, and the expence of the whole party. The party, equally determined to thwart his mischievous purpose, drew up a petition, and presented it to the house, in the name of the military. The petition set forth, That the military had hazarded their existence against monarchy, and were still ready to do it in defence of the Liberty of the nation ; that they had observed in some men great endeavors to bring the people again under their old servitude, by pressing their general to take upon him the title and government of a King, in order to destroy him, and weaken the hands of those who were faithful to the public. They humbly desired the Parliament to discountenance all such persons and endeavors, and continue stedfast to that cause, for which the petitioners were ever ready to lay down their lives.

The Parliament was thunderstruck at the contents of a petition, which, as the petitioners were most of them the partizans of Cromwell, they had concluded was conformable to the resolution of the house. Nor less was the dismay and the astonishment of the usurper, who, on the first notice of the business, sent for Fleetwood (his son-in-law), censured him for suffering a petition of such a nature to be presented ; since, he said, he knew it to be his determination not to accept the crown without the consent of the army ; begged he would take measures to prevent its contents from being debated ; sent an immediate message to the house

not please children, and let them enjoy their rattle." *Ludlow's Memoirs*, p. 223.

to

to meet him at Whitehall, and there, with great ostentation of his self-denial, refused the accepting the title of King*. Ann. 1656.

The usurper, thus defeated in his designs by the steady opposition of the military, was glad to accept of the power they were willing to allow him on their own terms. It was carried in the house, that they should again present their Humble Petition and Advice, with the alteration of the word King into that of Protector†. Every article was accepted without hesitation; the form of the ceremony to be used in the vesting him with supreme government was settled by Parliament, and in Westminster-Hall performed, in a yet more solemn and more pompous manner, than had been his first inauguration.

Though in this new instrument of government the authority of Cromwell was in some particulars enlarged, and settled on a more permanent basis, yet in others it was diminished.

* " His highness (writes Thurloe in a letter to Henry Cromwell, the deputy of Ireland) was pleased, upon the Wednesday and Thursday before, to declare to several of the house, that he was resolved to accept the title of King: But just in the very nick of time he took other resolutions; the three great men professing their unfreeness to act, and said, that immediately after his acceptance thereof, they must withdraw from all public employment, and so they believed would several other officers of quality, who had been engaged all along in this war. Besides, the very morning the house expected his highness would have come and given his consent to the bill, some twenty-six or seven officers came with a petition to the Parliament, to desire them not to press his highness any farther about Kingship." *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. VI. p. 281.

† According to Thurloe, Lambert, Sydenham, and others, spoke very earnestly against allowing Cromwell the power prescribed by the Humble Petition and Advice; and, as far as could be perceived, very few of the soldiers were pleased with it. *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. V. p. 311.

On

He is confirmed in the Protectorate.

Journals.
Parl. Hist.

Ann. 1656. On the one side, he abandoned the privilege of framing laws in the interval of Parliament; and agreed that none of its members should be excluded without its consent; on the other, he had the power of nominating his successor; had a perpetual revenue assigned him (to the amount of one million three hundred thousand pounds a-year), with authority to name another house, who were to exercise jurisdictional power, and to enjoy their seats during life.

The drudgery of prostitution over, and a legal form given to Cromwell's tyranny, the Parliament adjourned.

New session of Parliament. By the second article of the Humble Petition and Advice, the Parliament had allowed the usurper the privilege of nominating another house; yet such nomination was to receive the approbation of the Commons. This privilege was given up by an article in an additional and explanatory petition, procured by the influence

Ann. 1657. of Cromwell; who, exerting the prerogative in an unlimited extent, issued out his writs of summons in the antient forms used by the kings. The Parliament had restricted the number to seventy members; but such was the difficulty of fixing on seventy individuals fit to serve the purposes of the tyrant, that only sixty-two were summoned; and out of these the earls of Manchester, Mulgrave, and Warwick, the lords Say and Seale, Faulconberg, Wharton, and Howard, with Sir Anthony Haslerig, refused to attend.

Ann. 1658. A total loss of that influence which had so fully gratified the ambitious lust of the usurper, attended the re-assembling of Parliament. Cromwell had carried out of the representative body, a great

Dissolution of Parliament.

Ann. 1658.
a great number of his friends and adherents into the other house ; and, in consequence of a clause in the Humble Petition and Advice, the Commons exerted the power of re-admitting those members who had been excluded by the council. An incontestable majority, on the first opening of the session, declared themselves against the government * : They refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the other house ; they questioned the validity of the Humble Petition and Advice, as being voted by a mutilated Parliament, which lay under force ; and when Cromwell, in an high strain of authority, told them he expected they should pay the same regard to the other house, and give it the same appellation as had been paid or given to any former house of Peers, his threats and remonstrances were treated with the contempt they deserved. A petition, with the connivance of the majority, was carried on in the city, for the national representative to resume the power of the sword † ; and combinations were daily

* Cromwell and Nathaniel Fiennes, one of the commissioners of the great-seal, the same who had been broken by a court-martial for cowardice in the delivering up Bristol, opened the session with two canting speeches, in which they extolled the advantages of the present settlement ; called it the particular work of God ; inveighed in a common-place style against the Republicans, as disturbers of the public peace, and against democratical systems, as visionary schemes. The usurper began his speech in the pompous style of, " My lords, and you the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the house of Commons."

† This petition was to be followed with a debate for the re-establishing the Republican government ; and on the objection, that the army would never come into it, Mr. Weaver asserted, that they had been tried on the point, and would on occasion declare for it. *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. VII. p. 269.

forming

Ann. 1658. forming between the patriots in the house and the malecontents of all parties. Cromwell, determining to give no leisure for conspiracies, dissolved the Parliament, with expressions of high rage and resentment; and when urged by Fleetwood not to precipitate himself into a measure, which had ever been attended with bitter consequences, he swore by the Living God they should not sit one moment longer.

Ludlow's
Memoirs.

Having thus, by a reiterated violation of the free principles of the constitution, resumed the power into his own hands, and observing in the behavior of the military tokens of discontent, he assembled together all the officers in and about the capital, and demanded of them whether they were willing to serve him against his enemies. The major and the captains of his own regiment answered, They were ready to fight against Charles Stewart, and for the interest of the good old cause; but would not engage against they knew not whom, and for they knew not what. On a reply thus spirited, they were discharged from their commands. All the employments of Lambert had been taken from him previous to the re-assembling the Parliament. He had refused the taking an oath, enjoined by the Humble Petition and Advice on the members of the assembly and council, not to do any thing against the present government, and to be true and faithful to the Protector, according to the law of the land. Cromwell, not thinking it safe to render Lambert desperate, allowed him on his dismission a pension of two thousand pounds a-year.

Success of
Blake.

Notwithstanding the abject state of servility into which England was again sunk, the power

of

of her arms was every where irresistible. In Ann. 1658.
the Mediterranean a squadron of Blake's fleet, commanded by Capt: Stayner, had fallen in with the Spanish galleons, and taken two ships, valued at near two millions of pieces of eight ; two others, in which were embarked the marquis of Bajadox, the viceroy of Peru, and his family, were set on fire and destroyed.

Blake, to whom Montague was now joined in command, had been necessitated, for want of water, to visit the coast of Portugal. After revictualling and refitting the fleet, he sailed towards the Canaries, in pursuit of a Spanish fleet of sixteen ships, reputed to be richer than those which had been taken by Stayner. The fleet of which Blake was in chace had gained the Canaries before him, and taken shelter in the bay of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe. A strong castle, well fortified with cannon, besides seven forts, all united by a line of communication, and manned with musqueteers, secured the bay. Across its mouth the Spanish admiral, Don Diego Diaques, had drawn a strong boom. Six galleons lay at the outside of the harbor, with their broadsides to the sea. The smaller ships were moored close to the shore, under the protection of the cannon of the castle. This formidable entrenchment, regarded as superior to any force, Blake, without hesitation, determined to attempt. Himself attacked the galleons, and kept them in play, whilst Stayner, with a squadron of the lighter ships, broke into the harbor. The fight lasted four hours ; and the event proved so favorable to the English, that, after gaining possession of the harbor, and consuming the whole fleet of the enemy by fire,

Ann. 1658. with the loss only of forty-eight lives, the wind suddenly shifting, carried them out of the reach of the castle and the forts, which, had their ships been confined in the bay, must in the space of a short time have entirely demolished them.

His death
and charac-
ter.

The valiant Blake closed the scene of glory with this; the greatest action of his heroic life. The vigor of his constitution was destroyed by the length of time he had been at sea. He had long labored under the misery of a scorbutic dropsical complaint. In his passage to England, whither he hastened after the victory of Santa Cruz, his sickness daily increased, and put a period to his life *, just as he came within sight of a country he had served with a true filial affection, and to whose present state of power he beyond any other individual had contributed. The Parliament, when they heard the news of Blake's victory over the Spanish fleet, ordered a thanksgiving, with the present of a diamond-ring worth five hundred pounds. This he lived to receive. His funeral was performed with great magnificence † at the public expence, and his body interred in the chapel of Henry the Seventh ‡.

* At the age of fifty-nine years.

† All the chief officers of state and the army, with the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, attended the procession.

‡ Whilst Blake lay in the road of Malaga, before Cromwell had made war on Spain, some of his seamen going a shore met the host. On their laughing at the Spaniards for the superstitious reverence they paid to it, the multitude, excited by one of their priests, fell on the offenders, and beat them severely. On the report of this treatment, Blake sent a trumpet to the viceroy to demand the priest. On the answer of the viceroy, that he had no authority over the priest, Blake replied, he would

Blake was descended from an antient family in Somersetshire. He received the first rudiments of his education at a free-school in Bridgewater, and finished his studies at Oxford. Voit of that turbulent ambition which is commonly the troublesome companion of great minds, after the completion of his education he retired to Bridgewater; and in this town, till the beginning of the civil wars, lived privately on a small paternal estate. Those powers of action, which the moderation and disinterestedness of his temper had suffered to lay dormant, were suddenly roused by the first opportunity which offered to defend his country from a tyranny his honesty and good sense had early taught him to detest. He served in the Short Parliament of 1640, for the town of Bridgewater; and was one of the first who enlisted under the banners of the people against the encroachments of prerogative. In the year 1643, he gave a signal proof of that inflexible courage by which his character was so peculiarly distinguished.

Ann. 1658.
Wood's Athen. Oxonienses.
Biographia Britannica.

would not enquire who had the power to send the priest to him, but, if he was not sent within three hours, he would burn the town. The viceroy was at length obliged to comply. On the priest's justifying his conduct on the pertulant behavior of the seamen, Blake answered, that if he had sent a complaint to him of it, he would have punished the offenders severely; but he would have all the world know that an Englishman was only to be chastised by an Englishman. When the intelligence of this spirited behavior was read to Cromwell and his council, that arrogant usurper, taking the whole merit of the conduct on himself, said, he hoped he should make the name of an Englishman as great as ever that of a Roman had been. Was not the usurpation of this parricide the only interruption to the English name being carried to an higher point of glory, than had ever yet been acquired by man?

Ann. 1658. After the coward Fienes had surrendered the city of Bristol to prince Rupert, Blake continued to defend a fort entrusted to his care. Of Taunton, the only garrison the Parliament had in the West, he was in the year 1644 constituted governor; and though the works about the town were not strong, and the forces appointed to defend it far from numerous, yet, through the strict discipline and other military virtues of Blake, it was preserved from the enemy against frequent sieges. When Goring, with ten thousand men, was in possession of half the town, Blake held out the other half and the castle, till he received sufficient assistance to raise the siege; a circumstance of such importance, that the preservation of Taunton was regarded by both parties as the principal cause of the overthrow of the king. The Parliament acknowledged his services in a present of five hundred pounds. In 1648-9, Blake, in conjunction with the colonels Dean and Popham, was appointed to the command of the fleet; and in 1652, on the prospect of a Dutch war, he was made sole admiral for nine months. In the year 1653, he condescended to take a seat in the Parliament nominated by Cromwell and the army, and was by the same assembly continued one of the generals at sea, and appointed one of the commissioners of the Admiralty. In the nature and success of his military exploits, Blake excelled the most eminent of his contemporaries, and is the only man to whose public and private virtues all parties give a willing testimony. In his person, he was beyond example brave and determined; as a commander, friendly and indulgent to all under his authority; a disinterested citizen,

citizen, and affectionate to the welfare of his ^{Ann. 1658,} country ; just in all his transactions * ; pious without ostentation ; and liberal to the utmost extent of his fortune : A character which might have been pronounced perfect, had he not fulfilled the lustre of his life in giving strength and glory to the tyranny of a usurper ; a tyranny which, but for such a support, must have fallen as soon as erected †.

In consequence of a negotiation began by the French ambassador at London in 1656, a league

* Notwithstanding the large sums of money which passed through Blake's hands, he did not leave at his death five hundred pounds of his own acquiring. *Biographia Britannica.*

† Blake had sufficient influence with the navy to have induced them to declare against Cromwell's usurpation ; and such a defection, if it had not staggered the resolution of the usurper, must have intimidated his party from supporting his pretensions. To a common-place argument urged to the honest and sensible Ludlow against the laying down his employments, he replied, " It is not lawful to do the least evil for the attaining the greatest good ; and I apprehend it to be an evil thing to fortify Cromwell in his usurpation. I hope I shall do more good by my open protestation against his injustice, and declining to act under him, than by the contrary means ; for would all men who continue well affected to the interest of the commonwealth refuse to act in the present state of affairs, the usurper must probably be reduced to his right senses, he not daring to trust those who have acted against him." What could be Blake's motive, except a too-fond desire of martial fame, to differ in his conduct from Ludlow, is not easy to determine. Certain it is, that he affected to act on very different principles in the last stage of his life to those on which he set out. " It is not for us, says he to his officers, to mind state-affairs, but to prevent foreigners from fooling us." Thus he inculcated a maxim which was followed by the navy through all the changes in government ; a maxim ruinous in its consequences, by depriving the commonwealth of the aid of those who are alone capable of defending its freedom. *Biographia Britannica.*

Ann. 1658. offensive and defensive, between Cromwell and the French king, had been concluded in March 1657. By the terms of this treaty, Cromwell was to join six thousand men to the French army, and Mardyke and Dunkirk were to be delivered into his hands. After the ceremony of signing, the duke of York, who had served some time in the French army, with all the English Royalists, was ordered to leave the kingdom; and Cromwell, having sent over his quota of troops, Mardyke (in the first campaign) and Dunkirk (on the 26th of June, 1658) were taken from the Spaniards, and given up to Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador to the French court.

Dunkirk delivered into the hands of Cromwell.

As the assistance of England was very necessary to the promoting the ambitious views of France, great flattery was paid by Lewis and his minister to the usurper. Lord Falconbridge (his son-in-law, sent to congratulate Lewis on the success of their joint arms) was treated with the respect paid to foreign princes. The duke of Crequi and Mancini (the nephew of Mazarine *), with a pompous retinue, was dispatched on the same errand to England.

Conspiracies.

Whilst the bravery of the English militia extended the power of their country and supported the reputation of her government, the domestic situation of her tyrant was attended with perpetual uneasiness and vexation. The Royalists and Presbyterians had entered into another en-

Clar. Hist.

* Mazarine, who hated Cromwell, and had often treated his character with contempt, went such a length in flattery as to express a regret that his urgent affairs should deprive him of an honor he had long coveted, of paying in person his respects to the greatest man in the world.

gagement

gagement for a general insurrection. Ormond ^{Ann. 1658.} was sent over to forward the design. The treachery of Sir Richard Willis discovered it to Cromwell. Sir Henry Slingsby, Dr. Hewit ^{Executions.} (a priest), with three others, Ashton, Storey, and Bestley, the more vigilant actors, were condemned to death by an high court of justice, and executed *. The Republicans, though they regarded with horror the views and principles of the Royalists, yet they continually denounced vengeance on Cromwell, as the great betrayer of the public cause. The Fifth-monarchy-men, headed by Harrison, Lawson, Okey, Rich, Danvers, &c. were eternally entering into cabals with the army to dethrone him; and the usurper was so diffident of the affections even of the military appointed to secure his person, that, immediately before the dissolution of the Parliament, himself took the inspection of the watch at Whitehall.

With the perpetual fear, that the general odium against his government would incline all parties to lay aside their particular animosities, and unite in the destruction of his authority, Cromwell apprehended the loss of life by private assassination. The doctrine, That killing a public offender, who had set himself above the reach of law and justice, was not a sinful but meritorious act, was broached in pamphlets, and received with applause †. It was by acci-

* The usurper, though his authority, in the first session of the last Parliament, had been recognized, could not in this trying point venture the determination of the common courts of law.

† The famous publication on this subject is entitled, "Killing no Murder." The author, in a humorous address

April. 1658. dent alone that one Sindercombe, a bold and resolute adventurer, was prevented from putting

to Cromwell, urges him to put an end to his life, as the only action by which he can merit the usurped title of Deliverer of his country. He next addresses the army in the following parenthesis strain: " For you, that were the champions of our Liberty, are not you become the instruments of our slavery ? Do you remember that you were raised to defend the privileges of Parliament, and will you be employed to force elections and dissolve Parliaments ? Think upon what you have promised, and what you do ; and give not posterity, as well as your own generation, the occasion to mention your name with infamy, and to curse that unfortunate valor and success of yours, which only hath gained victories, as you use them, against the commonwealth." In making a comparison between the character and conduct of Cromwell and that of other tyrants, he says, " Had not his highness had a faculty to be fluent in his tears and eloquent in his execrations, had he not had spongy eyes and a supple conscience, and besides, to do with a people of great faith but little wit, his courage and the rest of his moral virtues, with the help of his janissaries, had never been able so far to advance him out of the reach of justice, that we should have need to call for any other hand to remove him but that of the hangman." After shewing, from the authors of the sacred writings, and by arguments founded on principles of reason, justice, necessity, and the common good of the community, that assassinating a tyrant who hath set himself above the reach of law is a meritorious act, he gives the following description of that venality, tame-ness, and corruption, into which the age was sunk : " Can any man with patience think upon what we have professed, when he sees what we wildly do and tamely suffer ? What have we of nobility among us but the name, the luxury, and the vices of it ? As for our ministers, what have they, or indeed desire they, of their calling but the tythes ? How do these horrid prevaricators search for distinctions to piece contrary oaths ? How do they rake Scriptures for flatteries, and impudently apply them to his monstrous highness ? What is the city but a great tame beast, who eats and carries, and cares not who rides it ? What is the thing called a Parliament but a mock, composed of a people who are only suffered to sit there because they are known to have no virtue, after the exclusion of all others who were suspected to have any ? What are they but pimps of tyranny, who are only employed to draw in the people

the doctrine into practice *. Cromwell was Ann. 1658. reserved for the lash of more poignant and more lengthened sufferings. His conscience

people to prostitute their liberty ? What will not the army fight for, what will they not fight against ? What are they but janissaries, slaves themselves, and making all others so ? What are the people in general but knaves, fools, and principled for ease, vice, and slavery ? This is our temper ; this tyranny hath brought us to already, and if it continues, the little virtue which is yet left to stock the nation must extinguish, and then his highness has completed his work of reformation ; and the truth is, till then his highness cannot be secure. He must not endure virtue, for that will not endure him." This performance, which is supposed to have affected very deeply the usurper's peace of mind, is generally given to colonel Titus ; but, according to Clarendon, colonel Edward Sexby, of the party termed Levellers, an old intimate of Cromwell, before Cromwell usurped the government, asserted that he was the author. Sexby died in the Tower, as it is supposed by poison. *Heath's Chronicle*, p. 398. *Harleian Miscellanies*.

* Cromwell could never sift the bottom of Sindercombe's design, or detect any of his accomplices ; and though the intention of assassination was fully proved on his trial, yet it was with difficulty that the jury could be brought to condemn him. On the morning destined for his execution, he was found dead in his bed of poison he had voluntarily taken, as it was given out by the friends of Cromwell ; but his enemies did not scruple to assert that Sindercombe was smothered, to prevent the probable mischief which might ensue from a public execution. That despicable convention of Cromwell's adherents, who called themselves a Parliament, were not sparing of their adulation on the occasion : They ordered a day of thanksgiving, to be first held by the house, and then by the three nations ; they voted thanks to secretary Thurloe for his great diligence in tracing out the plot ; and, with the speaker at their head, they went to Whitehall to congratulate the Protector in person on his happy deliverance. The speaker concluded his speech with observing, that if Cicero was living he would want expression to set out the danger or the mercy ; so unparalleled, so unprecedented a mercy, that the Parliament's hymn was, " *O Cantemus Canticum* : O come, let us sing a new song unto the Lord." *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXI. p. 47, & seq.

began

Ann. 1658: began to grow uneasy under the load of its offences. The hurry of business, and attention to sublunary matters, had considerably abated his religious enthusiasm. The certainty of divine favor and predilection, on which, in the beginning of his career, he had highly presumed, gave way to doubts and apprehensions ; nor could the opinion, That the elect can never fall from grace, or suffer final reprobation, reconcile his former hopes with the recollection of a conduct which had set at defiance every religious and moral rule. The thoughts of death, with all those terrors which haunt the superstitious and the wicked, were ever present to his affrighted imagination, and betrayed in his actions, countenance, and gesture the horrors which had taken possession of his soul. The sight of a stranger threw him into visible confusion ; of access he became difficult ; he slept but a few nights together in the same chamber ; never stirred abroad without the attendance of strong guards ; never returned home by the same road ; wore a thick coat of mail under his cloaths ; and carried continually about him a sword, pistols, and other offensive weapons *.

* The gloomy horrors of the usurper's mind, had no resource in the confidence of friendship, or the soothings of domestic cordiality ; his selfishness and universal treachery had deprived him of the one, and the contrariety of principle existing in the individuals of his family to his public conduct, of the other. From her husband Ireton the lady Fleetwood had imbibed the disinterested principles of genuine Republicanism ; she abhorred the treachery of her father, nor could without indignation behold that power which belonged to the people at large, usurped by an individual. Mrs. Claypole, who was infected with monarchical prejudices from her matrimonial

Heath's Chronicle.
Flagellum, or the Life of Cromwell.
Kimber's Life of Cromwell.

The constitution of the usurper, though naturally robust, began to sink under the weight of that load of business, care, and anxiety which had for some time so heavily oppressed his mind. A slow fever, the usual consequent of grief and vexation, gradually rose to an height which alarmed the attendant physicians. The hopes of their patient, were buoyed up with the phrenzy or flattery of his chaplains. In a fit of enthusiasm, which returned with the unnatural heat of his blood, he asserted, that he was well assured of his recovery ; it was promised, he said, by the Lord, not only to his supplications*, but to those of men who held a stricter commerce, and more intimate correspondence with him.

But whilst the court-preachers were offering up thanksgiving to God, for the undoubted pledges they had received of their patron's returning health, the symptoms of his disorder began every moment to wear a more mortal aspect. The council, alarmed by the report

monial connections, in her last sickness exclaimed vehemently against Cromwell's crimes and cruelties ; in particular for his putting her favorite Dr. Hewit to death, on whose behalf she had made importunate intercessions. The two other daughters of the usurper had adopted similar principles from their husbands ; and of his two sons, only Henry's temper and ambition were similar to his own.

* " His highness (says Fleetwood in a letter to Henry Cromwell, dated August twenty-four) hath made very great discoveries of the Lord to him in his sickness, and hath had some assurances of his being restored, and made farther serviceable in this work. I think there is that in this experience which may truly be worthy your farther knowledge." *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. VI, p. 355.

Ann. 1658. of his physicians, sent a deputation to know his will with regard to his successor †. The agonies of death were now upon him; his senses were gone; a simple affirmative, that his eldest son Richard should succeed, was with difficulty extorted from him the evening before his decease, an event which happened on the third of September; that day on which Fortune had been twice propitious to him in the fields of Dunbar and Worcester, and now completed her favors, in saving him the disgrace and punishment he deserved, by putting an end to his existence * at a period when all his arts had failed him, and when he could not in all probability have prolonged his usurpation many months ‡.

† The privilege of naming a successor, he, with others, had obtained by the means of a packed Parliament, and used in favor of his family, in direct opposition to a sentiment he had avowed to the first assembly of representatives which met after his usurpation: “ So fully am I convinced, said he, of the injustice of hereditary government, that, if you had offered me the whole instrument of government, with that one alteration in favor of my family, I should have refused the whole for the sake of that; and I do not know, though you have begun with an unworthy person, but hereafter the same method may be observed in the choice of magistrates as was among the children of Israel, who appointed those who had been the most eminent in delivering them from their enemies abroad to govern them at home.” The fear of disobligeing the leading officers of the army, whose turbulence Cromwell had quieted with the hopes of succession, occasioned him to neglect the nomination of his son till his last moments. *Ludlow's Memoirs.*

* The fever with which Cromwell was seized degenerated into a tertian. It was found, when his body was opened, that his spleen was in a decaying state.

‡ From the dissolution of the last Parliament to Cromwell's sickness and death, his embarrassments and difficulties multiplied daily. He was without money to pay the army, already disaffected;

From the lasting animosity of those numerous parties Cromwell had basely betrayed; from the rancor of the Stewart faction, and the honest resentment of patriotism; from the general odium in which the usurper ended his days; from the envied power he had with so much

disaffected; he was without money to defray the enormous expence requisite to procure the intelligence necessary to circumvent the daily practices of his enemies; and though, contrary to his opinion and inclination, it was carried by a majority in a select committee of his council, that the calling of another Parliament was a necessary expedient, yet they could not agree on what was proper to demand of the Parliament when it should meet, or on any plan for the firm establishment of the government in Cromwell's person and family. "Some discourses (writes Thurloe, in a letter to Henry Cromwell, dated the first of June, 1658) have been this week about a settlement, and how to prepare for the coming of a Parliament; but I do assure your excellency, that I cannot find the minds of men so disposed as may give the nation the hope of such a settlement as is wished for, and truly, I think that nothing but some unexpected providence can remove the present difficulties." In a letter, dated the twenty-second of June, he says, "There are nine in number who daily meet for considering of what is fit to be done in the next Parliament. One way propounded is, an oath of abjuration of the pretended king, his title, and family, to be taken by the Cavalier party and their children, and the swearing allegiance to his highness, &c. upon pain of forfeiting two thirds of their estate in case of a refusal. This was thought a good way to distinguish them who are implacable from those who are willing to submit and come in; but this way is disliked, because it is thought probable that they will all take it and none of them keep it; and so it is offered, that a burthen may be laid upon them all promiscuously, for the maintaining a force to keep them down, and a moiety of their estates is spoken of; but this, I suppose will not down with all the nine, and least of all will it be swallowed by the Parliament, who will not be persuaded to punish both nocent and innocent without distinction. Truly, I foresee there will be no great agreement upon this point, nor, I believe, upon the next, which is, how we shall be secured against a commonwealth."

guilt

Ann. 1658. guilt acquired and maintained, with the termination of that power in his family almost with the termination of his life; it was natural to imagine that his character, to latest posterity, would have been handed down with all the reproach it deserved, and that, from a principle of self-defence against the irregular ambition of individuals, the universal voice of all ages would have concurred in branding his name with infamy and contempt. Neither so just in their sentiments, nor so sagacious in their conduct, are the children of men. The constant attendant of great fortune, however wickedly, however perniciously to the welfare of the species, acquired and supported, is the idolatry of the multitude. With this general disposition of the vulgar, the peculiar state of the times was favorable to the character of Cromwell. Had the opposition against Charles Stewart, been carried on on those principles, which actuate barbarous nations in their revolt from oppression, and the same tyrannical system of government transferred from the hands of one individual to another; had the block on which Charles suffered, been the immediate footstool which elevated Cromwell to the throne of empire; no doubt the faction of the Stewart family would have been little sparing of their abuse. But the trampling on that generous system of equal Liberty, adopted and almost established by the Republicans, with the triumph gained over those illustrious patriots, very sufficiently reconcile his conduct and fortune to the prejudices of Royalists *; prejudices, which the

* These determined enemies to the general happiness of society,

ignorance of the times has rendered almost universal, and, even in patriot characters, confined that aversion to tyranny which ought to be general, to the aversion of tyranny in the elder branches of the Stewart family.

The hyperbolical praises bestowed by his partizans on the unhappy Charles, have been fully refuted by several pens; but the yet more-exalted commendations lavished on his fortunate successor Cromwell, have, from an odd concurrence of circumstances, met with little contradiction. Did facts allow us to give credit to the exaggerations of panegyrists, the power and reputation which England acquired by the magnanimous government of the Republican Parliament, entirely flowed from the unparalleled

society, highly exulted on the forced dissolution of the Parliament, whom they accused of having exhausted the wealth of the nation, and trampled on its Liberties. "The people, they said, could only be delivered by one who had superior power in his hands, and who, in this instant, had made a proper use of it." Ludlow observes, that Henry Cromwell, when he arrived in Ireland, was very much caressed by the Cavalier party. Clarendon, though he always mentions the Parliament with an high degree of acrimony, and supposes Cromwell to be the most active of the party in his master's death, yet speaks of him with tenderness; and Hume, who has imbibed all the prejudices of this party, endeavors to give his readers a favorable idea of the usurper's character, with the superior lenity of his government to that of the Parliament; and not only defends the act of usurpation, but, under the guise of public opinion, gives a full vent to his spleen in villifying the conduct of that patriotic assembly. "All men, says he, harrassed with wars and factions, were glad to see any prospect of justice and settlement; and they esteemed it less ignominious to submit to a person of such admirable talents, than to a number of ignoble enthusiastic hypocrites, who, under the name of a Republic, had reduced them to a cruel subjection." *Hume's History of Great Britain*, vol. II. p. 48. *Ludlow's Memoirs*, p. 203.

genius

Ann. 1658. genius and virtue of the hero Cromwell: Cromwell's
 Wellwood's Memoirs. well imprinted throughout all Europe a terror
 Oldmixon's History. of the English name: Cromwell was the con-
 Neale's Hist. of the Puritans. queror of the Dutch; he retrieved the honor of
 Temple. his country in the busines of Amboyna, and
 prescribed a peace to that insolent Republic on
 his own terms: Cromwell was the scourge of
 the Pyratical States; the scourge of the house
 of Austria; every court in Europe trembled at
 his nod: He was the umpire of the North, the
 support of the reformed religion, and the friend
 and patron of that warlike Protestant monarch
 the king of Sweden. In regard to his domestic
 government, Cromwell was ever ready to attend
 to complaints and redress grievances: Cromwell
 administered the public affairs with frugality;
 filled Westminster-Hall with judges of learning
 and integrity; observed the strictest discipline
 in his army; was the support of religious liberty;
 and a benefactor to the learned: Under the
 administration of Cromwell, every branch of
 trade flourished: In his court a face of religion
 was preserved, without the appearance of pomp,
 or needless magnificence: He was simple in his
 way of living, and easy and modest in his de-
 portment.

False as is this representation to the true
 character of the usurper, it has been adopted
 by that party among us who call themselves,
 Whigs *, as a mortifying contrast to the prin-

* According to bishop Burnet, the following is the origin
 of an appellation at first used to distinguish that party in this
 country who professed low principles in church and state, and
 who, during the reign of the house of Stewart, were always
 in opposition to the court. The same appellation has been
 since given to all the partizans of the house of Hanover, in
 contra-

ciples, administration, and conduct of the ^{Ann. 1658.} Stewart line; and the Royalists of all denominations, are well pleased to give to the government of an individual, a reputation which was alone due to the Republic, and to conceal from the multitude the truth of facts, which must discover to vulgar observation, that eternal opposition to the general good of society which exists in the one, with the contrary spirit which so evidently shone forth in the other. Historians, either from prejudice or want of attention, have in general given into these ill-founded encomiums so prodigally bestowed on the usurper; but a just narration of the transactions of those times, shews that it was under the government of the Parliament the nation gained all its real advantages, and that the maritime power they had raised and supported, with the skill and bravery of the commanders they had

contradistinction to the partizans of James Stewart and his descendants, termed Jacobites. "The south-west counties of Scotland, says Burnet, have seldom corn enough to serve them round the year, and the northern parts producing more than they need, those in the West come in the summer to buy at Leith the stores which come from the North; and from a word Whigam, used in driving their horses, all who drove were called the Whigamors, and shorter, the Whigs. Now in that year after the news came down of duke Hamilton's defeat, the ministers animated their people to rise and march to Edinburgh; and they came up marching at the head of their parishes, with an unheard-of fury, praying and preaching all the way as they came. The marquis of Argyll and his party came and headed them, they being about six thousand. This was called the Whigamor's inroad; and ever after that, all who opposed the court came in contempt to be called Whigs. From Scotland the word was brought into England, where it is now one of our unhappy terms of distinction." *Burnet's Summary of Affairs before the Restoration.*

Ann. 1658. placed over the naval force, was the sole means by which Cromwell supported the reputation of his government.

Review of his administration. Excepting the Dutch, whom the Parliament had totally subdued, with the Danes and Portuguese, whom they had brought to a state of humiliation, the usurper found the English commonwealth at peace with all the powers of Europe, and in the sole possession of the Spanish trade, a great source of national wealth †. The Spaniards, who had paid great court to the Parliament, were equally warm in their professions to Cromwell, and would have entered into a close union with him on the easy terms of his remaining neuter during their contention with France. This was the plan pursued by the Parliament, and the obvious interest of England; but the usurper sacrificing both the glory and the welfare of his country to the security of his own establishment, after having made a shameful peace with the Dutch, on terms lower than they had offered and the Parliament had refused *, he, for the sake of pro-

† According to Coke, besides the damage the English merchants sustained in having all their goods and effects confiscated in Spain by Cromwell's abrupt war, the privateers from Dunkirk, Ostend, and the ports of Biscay and Galicia, did them in all their trade more damage than they had sustained in the course of the Dutch war, to the impoverishment of the nation, and to the enriching their rivals the Dutch. *Coke's Detection*, vol. II. p. 57.

* Though the terms on which Cromwell made peace with the Dutch, were lower than those which the Parliament had refused, yet he had the meanness not to insist on their execution. Satisfaction in the business of Amboyna, being referred to commissioners, came to nothing; the restitution of the island of Poleron was never complied with; and the Dutch were complimented with the possession of countries in America, styled

uring money to support his despotism, made Ann. 1658.
war with Spain without previous declaration, whilst he was amusing them with the hopes of a treaty; entered into a league offensive and defensive with the French court, on the reason of removing his rivals the Stewart family from so near a neighborhood, and to please the English fanatics, his only fast friends, and pamper a vain-glorious appetite by the reputation of being the protector of the Protestant interest*. Could he have brought the Dutch into his destructive measures, he would have assisted the Swedish monarch in acquiring a power, which would have laid all Europe at the mercy of Sweden and France†.

uled New York and the Jerseys, though the right of the English nation to them was incontestable.

Coke says, that the Dutch above all things dreaded the Long Parliament; that they animated Cromwell to dissolve it; and finding the succeeding Parliament to be steady in the same principles of conduct, their plenipotentiaries told Cromwell, that, in case he would assume the government himself, they would enter into such a defensive alliance with him, as would secure him against his foreign and domestic enemies. *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. V. p. 81, & seq. *Coke's Detection*, vol. II. p. 44.

* To support this reputation, Cromwell was excited to an action which does him honor. On the intercession of several English ministers and elders of churches, he used his influence over Mazarine to stop a heavy persecution on the Vaudois by the Duke of Savoy, and promoted the raising a contribution through the kingdom on their behalf. *Morland's Hist. of the Evangelical Churches in the Valley of Piedmont*. *Thurloe's State Papers*.

+ Cromwell was very desirous of being at the head of a protestant league; but the Dutch would not come into this scheme, nor would the king of Sweden give up his ally the French monarch. The Dutch at this time very strenuously opposed the growing greatness of the king of Sweden; Cromwell assisted him with men and arms. After many remon-

Ann. 1658. The domestic administration of the usurper was a greater opposition to the Liberty of his country, than his foreign transactions to her security and interest as a state. The models or rules of his government were of his own making ; and though he changed them according to his pleasure or conveniency, he never abided by the directions of any. He ruled entirely by the sword, burthened the people with the maintenance of an army of thirty thousand men, and more grossly violated their right to legislation by their representatives than had any other tyrant who had gone before him. The power he delegated to his major-generals superseded the established laws of the country *. He threatened the judges, and dismissed them from their office, when they refused to become the instruments of his arbitrary will † ;

Strances from De Wit, on the bad policy of suffering the king of Sweden to be so powerful in the North, Cromwell began to be sensible, that, in case of a rupture between England and France, the English would entirely lose the trade of the Baltic.

* As the commission for decimating the Cavaliers, was worded in a manner that it took in all those who should disturb, or be suspected to disturb, the usurper's government, upon any principle whatever, the major-generals, to whom the execution of the commission was entrusted, decimated whom they pleased of all parties, interrupted the petitions at law of those who sought legal redress, and threatened such as would not readily submit to their extortions, with transportation to the West-Indies. With these exorbitant powers given to the major-generals, by the commission of decimation they were to suppress horse-races, cock-matches, and all other concourses of people ; and, under penalty of imprisonment, to exact engagement for the not acting against the government.

† Baron Thorpe and judge Newdigate were dismissed for not obeying the usurper's will, and for refusing a jury returned by order from Cromwell. Judge Hale, on his return from the

imprisoned lawyers * for pleading in a legal ^{Ann. 1658.} manner the cause of their clients ; packed juries † ; eluded the redress of Habeas Corpus ; and kept John Lilbourn in confinement after an acquittance by the verdict of a jury ‡ . In the point of religious liberty, the usurper,

he circuit, was told in anger that he was not fit to be a judge. *Whitelock. Hale's Life.*

* Such penalty was inflicted on serjeant Maynard, serjeant Twisdon, and Mr. Wadham Windham, the council for George Cony, a merchant, in his prosecution at common law of one of Cromwell's collectors. Cony was himself a prisoner at Cromwell's suit ; and being brought to the King's Bench bar by a Habeas Corpus, his counsel were taken from the bar, and sent to the Tower, for pleading their client's case. *Harris's Life of Cromwell.*

† In a letter from Mr. John Dove to secretary Thurloe is the following passage : " Sir, I understand a commission of Dyer and Terminer is issued out for trial of the rebels in the West, and there is a mistrust of my under-sheriff. Sir, I resolve that not one man shall be returned in the one or otherjuries, but such as may be confided in, and of the honest wellaffected party to his highness and the present government." *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. III. p. 318.

‡ Lilbourn was a man of an undaunted spirit, and actuated by so warm and honest a zeal for the Liberty of his country, that on these accounts, and the merit of the sufferings he had undergone for his opposition to the late King, he was from the profession of a bookbinder promoted to the rank of a colonel in the Parliament's army ; yet he opposed with earnestness the tyrannical principles of the Presbyterians, and, whilst that faction prevailed, suffered another persecution. He was strictly united with the patriot party termed Levellers ; and, though highly caressed by Cromwell, arraigned his conduct with such spirit, that he received a treatment as severe from that usurper as he had formerly experienced from the King. His constitution, harrassed with former fatigues and sufferings, was totally subdued by the length of his confinement. He died a short time after his releasement ; an event occasioned by the usurper's death. Lilbourn, during the government of the Parliament, had been tried for treasonable practices, but acquitted by a jury, and on his acquittance released by the Parliament. *State Trials*, vol. I. p. 580, & seq.

Ann. 1658. as it served his purposes, encouraged and oppressed all the different sectaries, not excepting the Papists*; and if he was liberal to men of learning, it was with a view to make use of their talents for his own peculiar advantage†.

* According to Prynne, Cromwell suspended the laws against Popish priests, and protected several of them under his hand and seal. Sir Kenelm Digby, an intriguing Papist, who, with one Gage, a reformed priest, put Cromwell on the expedition against the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies, he very particularly patronized. Lord Fitz-Williams, a Papist, who had been lieutenant-general to Preston in the army of the Irish rebels, offered to Ludlow, when under restraint, to use his interest with the Protector on Ludlow's behalf. Reily, the Popish primate of Ireland, sent precepts through all his province to pray for the health of Cromwell, and the establishment and prosperity of his government. White the Jesuit defended his conduct, and, in a treatise where the arguments are managed with much Jesuitical sophistry, endeavored to prove, that it is to the advantage of society to submit to the present possessor of power, and that great oppressions ought with patience to be borne from governors, who are superior to law.

Under the government of the Parliament, those writings which asserted the power of the people, and defended the rights of nature, were alone encouraged. This illustrious assembly was not afraid to enlighten the eyes of the public, to impress on their minds a sense of their consequence, and teach them what they had a right to exact from their rulers. Very different was the conduct of the usurper, who endeavored to suppress by power every publication written on the side of Liberty; whilst the doctrines held forth by White and Hobbes were received with applause, and attended with emolument. Harrington's famous Republican Treatise was hunted from press to press, and at length seized and carried to Whitehall; nor was it till after much intercession, through the interest of Mrs. Claypole, the usurper's daughter, that the manuscript was returned to the author. *Ludlow's Memoirs*, p. 207. *Biographia Britannica*. *White's Grounds of Obedience and Government*.

† The great Milton and Andrew Marvel, who were detained in the service of Cromwell as his secretaries, were not only popular on account of their abilities, but for their having distinguished

Some face of decency in his court, and continuance of that familiarity to his inferiors by which he had effected his ambitious purposes, were absolutely necessary to the preservation of his power; but so far was he from preserving, or even affecting, that simplicity of appearance particularly useful in a supreme governor, that, when only in the character of general of the army of the commonwealth, he lived in a kind of regal state at Whitehall. By his parliamentary interest, he prevented the sale of the royal palaces, with a view to possess them when he had compassed his intended usurpation; and that he never appeared in public without an ostentatious parade and pomp, and lived in high state and magnificence, is confirmed by authentic records, with the testimony of all parties. On the dissolution of the Republican government, there were five hundred thousand pounds in the public treasury*; the value of seven

Ludlow's
Memoirs.

distinguished themselves, and particularly Milton, in the support of civil and religious Liberty. Meric Causabon, a Royalist, a man of learning, Cromwell would fain have hired to celebrate his praises in an history of the Civil War. To acquire some reputation among the prelatists, who, on their continued cabals against his government, he had treated with great severity. Cromwell paid half the expence of their favorite archbishop Usher's funeral; and he offered to the materialist Hobbes a secretary's place, on the merit of writing his famous Leviathan, in which, power is made the source of right and the basis of religion; a doctrine which himself, in direct contradiction to his former conduct, had the presumption to maintain to Ludlow: "If a Nero was in power, said he, it would be your duty to submit." *Ludlow's Memoirs*, p. 211.

* On the subject of the sum found by the usurper in the public treasury, there is a very interesting story told by one Violet, a goldsmith, some time imprisoned by the Parliament for services performed to Charles I. Violet, who had got information of three hundred thousand pounds of Dutch money

Ann. 1653. hundred thousand pounds in the magazines ; the army was three or four months pay in

on board Spanish vessels in the English ports, carried the intelligence to Cromwell, and represented this fortunate incident as a favorable opportunity to dissolve the Parliament, and usurp the government. Cromwell did not hesitate in following the pernicious advice. By his influence in the council, the ships were stayed, and the dissolution followed : This matter is represented by Violet in a petition to Charles II. and his council, as a very important service performed for the royal cause ; that it was the possession of this money which encouraged Cromwell to that act of violence ; and that the restoration of monarchy in the Stewart family, was by Violet foreseen to be the probable consequence. " I made several persons acquainted with my design," says Violet, who are well known to your majesty for their service and fidelity ; before ever I undertook it, I had their advice and approbation ; and though I put on the face of innocence, I knew from the first hour that Cromwell took the money into his custody that he would destroy the Parliament, and divide and subdivide among themselves, till all ended in confusion. God gave me courage happily to go through this business, which destroyed those two monsters, the Parliament and Cromwell. I did that by fraud and feigned pretence, which forty thousand men could not have done by force. I set on Cromwell to unlade the silver and to dissolve the Parliament ; and this Mr. Sadler, the late town-clerk of London, and colonel Bingham, if they please to do me right, can certify, that before them I persuaded Cromwell to seize on the silver, dissolve the Parliament, and to land it at the Tower, or under the Banqueting House at Whitehall. These two gentlemen brought me to Cromwell at the Cockpit, and were by me when I gave Cromwell this advice. Cromwell sent them both to me, to come and speak to him about this business. This was the bait I laid, which made Cromwell destroy the Parliament, the twentieth of April, 1653 ; a blessed day for our royal king and all his party, when the corporation of rebels, the Rump Parliament, had their fatal blow ; a day never to be forgotten by all true Englishmen ; for in that day Cromwell destroyed them and himself, as the sequel did prove." The truth of what Violet asserted in his petition, is vouched by the certificates of two creditable witnesses, and shews what an easy dupe the lust of empire had made Cromwell to the designs of his and his country's enemies. Violet asserts in his narration, that Sir Henry Vane, inspecting

advance; the maritime power was sufficiently strong to enable England to give law to all nations; and the trade of the country in so flourishing a condition that nine hundred thousands a-year had been refused for the customs and excise. On the death of the usurper, notwithstanding the money he had arbitrarily levied on the people, the aid afforded him by a convention of his own nomination, which he termed a Parliament, the vast sums he had raised by decimating the Cavaliers, the sums paid by the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the duke of Tuscany, with the treasure he at different times had taken from the Spaniards, the state was left in debt, the army in arrear, and the fleet in decay. To these national evils was added the loss of a great part of the Spanish trade*, with the foundation of that greatness in the French monarchy, which is to this day formidable to the Liberty of England.

Such were the fruits of a government conducted on the principles of public good, and of that economy preserved by the Parliament; and such the mischief to society, when the lasts of an individual are to be supplied from the public stock, and the general good of the community sacrificed to particular interest†. The

suspecting treachery, did not approve of the proposal of seizing the silver, and would have sent Violet to prison. *The Petition of Thomas Violet, &c.*

* The merchants trading to Spain, in a remonstrance against the Spanish war, asserted, 'that trading with the Spaniards redounded more to the advantage of England than the traffic with any other country. *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. IV.

P. 135.

† The Parliament, in their declaration expressing the ground of their proceedings, and the settling the government in

Ann. 1658. aggrandizement of the French monarchy, to which Cromwell so essentially contributed, was no less fatal to the interest of the Reformed, which he affected to protect *, than opposite to the welfare and security of England. To sum

in the way of a free state, observe on the enormous expence of the court in the ways of luxury and prodigality ; viz. A standing ill-ordered diet for a number of drones and unprofitable burthens of the earth ; by chargeable feasts, chargeable provisions for sports and recreations ; by profuse donations of yearly salaries and pensions, granted to such as were found or might be made fit instruments for tyranny, or else such as had relation to the king in native or personal respects ; that the court was the great nursery of luxury and intemperance, the corrupter of the manners and dispositions of many otherwise-hopeful branches, sprung from the noblest families, and the universal perverter of religion and goodness. " Now in a free state, says the declaration, these and a multitude of the like grievances and mischiefs will be prevented. The situation and advantage of this land, both for trade abroad and manufactories at home, will be better understood when the dangers of projects, monopolies, and obstructions thereof, are, together with the court (the fountain of them), removed, and a free trade, with encouragement of manufactories, and provision for the poor are settled by the commonwealth ; whereunto the same is most agreeable, and which the former government had never yet leisure effectually to do." *Parl. Hist.* vol. XIX.

p. 74, & seq.

* Before Cromwell destroyed the balance between Spain and France, the French Hugonots were of consequence enough to secure an indulgent treatment. The revocation of the edict of Nantz, and the heavy persecution which followed, were the consequences of the usurper's vicious politics ; who, in another instance, is accused of betraying and sacrificing the Protestant cause, and the safety of its professors, to his selfish views. The Parliament, whose invariable conduct tended to the extending the principles of religion, the suppressing of Popery, and the advancement of the reformation, were in treaty with deputies from Bourdeaux on the subject of assisting the French Hugonots in forming themselves into an independant state, on the plan of a Republic ; but Cromwell, on his usurping the government, not only overthrew the design, but is supposed to have betrayed it to Mazarine. *Bethell's Interest of the Princes and States*

up the villany of his conduct in a few lines—Ann. 1658.

He deprived his country of a full and equal system of Liberty, at the very instant of fruition; stopped the course of her power, in the midst of her victories; impeded the progress of reformation, by destroying her government and limiting the bounds of her empire; and, by a fatal concurrence of circumstances, was enabled to obstruct more good and occasion more evil than has been the lot of any other individual.

It is said that Cromwell was exemplary in the relative duties of a son, a husband, and a father; and the whole of his private conduct has been allowed by all parties to have been decent, though his mirth often degenerated into buffoonery*, and the pleasures of his table bordered on licentiousness. If, as a citizen and magistrate, his character has been attacked by a few of the judicious, there are none who doubt the almost supernatural abilities of a man, who, from a private station, could attain to the sum-

Cromwell's
character.

States of Europe, 8vo ed. 1681, p. 321. Guthrie's General Hist. of England.

* Among other the buffooneries of Cromwell, it is related, that before the king's trial, in a meeting of the chiefs of the Republican party and the general officers, to concert the model of the government they were to substitute in place of the monarchical constitution, in the midst of their debates, Cromwell flung a cushion at the head of Ludlow; that when the high court of justice was signing the king's sentence, Cromwell, before he subscribed his name, bedaubed with ink the face of Henry Martin; that he would put burning coals in the boots and hose of his attendants; and in the feasts which he frequently gave to his inferior officers, on a signal given the private soldiers rushed in, and disappointed the guests of their expected meal, by running away with all the dishes. *Ludlow's Memoirs. Flagellum, or the Life, Death, &c. of Oliver Cromwell.*

Ann. 1658. mit of splendor and power. The accidental occurrences of life, so frequently favorable to fools and madmen, are never taken into the account of great fortune. Fairfax, though his understanding is allowed by all parties to have been weak, had he possessed a heart as corrupt as Cromwell's, might have taken the advantage which his military command gave him to tyrannize over a people unsettled in their government, ignorant of their true happiness, and divided both in their political and religious opinions. Fairfax, without abilities to be of eminent service to his country, was too honest to do it a real injury. The selfish Cromwell let no opportunity slip, to turn to his particular advantage the victories gained on the side of Liberty, and to establish a personal interest on the ruins of the public cause. That he was active, eager, and acute, that he was a master in all the powers of grimace and the arts of hypocrisy, is obvious in every part of his conduct *: But these qualities are no proof

* "In all my conferences with Cromwell, says Sir John Berkeley, there was no man more zealous for a speedy blow than he. He blamed his son Ireton for not perfecting the proposals, and his not accommodating more to his majesty's sense. He told me when he left the king at Caenfum, and he wept plentifully at the remembrance, that he had lately seen the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld, the interview between the king and his children; never any man was more abused than he had been in his sinister opinions of the king; he thought him the uprightest man in his three kingdoms, and concluded his discourse by wishing that God would be pleased to look upon him according to the sincerity of his heart towards his majesty. To his cousin John Cromwell, an officer in the service of the States, he declared, he thought the king the most injured prince in the world; and that his sword should do him right; and to the Parliament, when the proposit-

of extraordinary abilities ; they are to be met with daily in common life, and never fail of success equal to their opportunities. The sagacity and judgment of Cromwell, in that point where his peculiar interest was immediately concerned, will appear very deficient, if we consider the sacrifice he made of those durable blessings which must have attended his person and posterity, from acting an honest part, in the establishing the commonwealth on a just and permanent basis, and the obvious danger of those evils he incurred, for the temporary gratification of reigning a few years at the expence of honor, conscience, and repose*.

propositions for trying him were brought in, he asserted, that as he was praying for a blessing from God on his undertaking to restore the king to his pristine majesty, his tongue clove to the roof of his mouth, which he took to be a return of prayer, and that God had rejected him from being King.' That brave and virtuous party termed Levellers, were entirely broken and ruined by relying on the honor of Cromwell, who, when they were gathered together, to the number of five thousand, and headed by resolute commanders, not caring to run the chance of battle on fair terms, he deluded them with a treaty, and then unexpectedly attacked and almost destroyed the whole body. He cajoled the Cavalier party with the forwarding the act of oblivion after the battle of Worcester ; the zealous reformers with his zeal for reformation ; the lawyers, and all the corrupt interest in the kingdom, with insinuations that he would stop the progress of reformation ; the Fifth-monarchy-men he brought to be assistant to his corrupt designs, by filling them with the vain notion of realizing their chimera of the kingdom of the saints ; and the Presbyterians with the hopes that he would curb the licentiousness of the different sectaries. He endeavored to reconcile his government to the nobility by attempting to renew the old establishments, and, almost to the last period of his existence, flattered the ambition of the leading men of the army with the notion that he would nominate one of them for his successor. *Berkeley's Mémoirs. Kimber's Life of Cromwell.*

* One of the main points of controversy betwixt us and our

Ann. 1658. Cromwell, both by the male and female line, was descended from families of good antiquity;

our adversaries, said Whitlock, is, Whether the government of this nation shall be established in monarchy or in a free state; and most of our friends have engaged with us on the grounds of having the government settled in a commonwealth. Now, if your excellency should take upon you to be king, the state of the cause will be changed from public to particular, and the question no longer be whether our government shall be monarchial or republican, but whether Cromwell or Stewart shall be our monarch. In this case, those who are for a commonwealth, and they are a great and considerable party, will desert you; your hands will be weakened, your interest streightened, and your cause in apparent danger to be ruined. I apprehend less envy and danger and pomp, but not less power and real opportunities of doing good, in your being general, than would be if you assumed the title of king." These were arguments founded on principles of utility and interest.

Milton
The great Milton and Harrington attempted, but in vain, to subdue in the usurper's mind the lust of empire by the passion of laudable ambition. " Consider often with yourself (says Milton, in a letter addressed to Cromwell) that your country has entrusted you with her dearest pledge, that of her Liberty; regard the great expectations conceived of you; reflect that your country's hope is entirely from you; regard the countenances and wounds of so many brave men, who, under your conduct, have fought for Liberty; regard the manes of those who have died in battle; regard what foreign nations may think and say of us, and the great things they have promised themselves from our noble acquisition of Liberty, and our new commonwealth, so gloriously begun to be established, which, if it prove abortive, will be great infamy to this nation; lastly, regard your own character, and never suffer that Liberty for which you have passed through so many toils and dangers to be violated by yourself, or in any measure be lessened by others. You cannot be free yourself unless we are free; for such is the necessary constitution of things, that whoever invades the Liberty of others first of all loses his own, and will be sensible of his being a slave; but if he who has been the patron, and as it were the titular deity of Liberty, and been esteemed a man of the greatest sanctity and probity, should usurp over that Liberty he has defended, it will be a pernicious and almost fatal wound, not only to his reputation,

and though it does not appear he was a proficient in any of the learned sciences, yet his father, notwithstanding his circumstances were narrow*, was not sparing in the article of education, but even to that of virtue and piety in general; honesty and virtue will seem to be lost, religion will have little regard paid to it, and reputation will ever after be of small account; than which no greater misfortune can befall mankind."

Harrington, in his *Oceana*, addresses Cromwell in the following stimulating style; " Thrice happy is that people which chances to have a man able to give them such a government at once, as, without alteration, may secure them of their Liberties; seeing it is certain that Lacedemon, in observing the laws of Lycurgus, continued about eight hundred years without any dangerous tumult or corruption. My lord-general, as it is said of Themistocles, that he could not sleep for the glory obtained by Miltiades at the battle of Maratho, took so new and deep an impression at these words of the much greater glory of Lycurgus, that being on this side assaulted with the emulation of his illustrious object, and on the other with the misery of the nation, which seemed as it were ruined by his victories to cast itself at his feet, he was almost wholly deprived of his natural rest till the debate he had within himself, came to a firm resolution that the greatest advantages of a commonwealth are, first, that the legislator should be one man, and secondly, that the government should be made all together and at once. For the first, it is certain, says Machiavell, that a commonwealth is seldom or never well turned or constituted, except it has been the work of one man; for which cause, a wise legislator, and one whose mind is firmly set not upon private but the public interest, not upon his posterity but upon his country, may justly endeavor to get the sovereign power into his own hands; nor shall any man who is master of reason blame such extraordinary means as in that case will be necessary, the end proving no other than the constitution of a well-ordered commonwealth." The observation Cromwell made after the perusal of this excellent work of Harrington was, The gentleman had like to have trepanned me out of my power, but what I have got by the sword I will not quit for a little paper shot." *Whitlock's Memorials. Toland's Life of Milton. Harrington's Life, prefixed to his Works. Oceana.*

* The family estate was so small, that his mother, after the death of her husband, was obliged to set up a brewery at

Hunting-

Harrington.

Ann. 1658. cation. An elevated sense of religion, which took place in his mind after a licentious and prodigal course, recommended him to the reformers of the age, and was the cause of his promotion to a seat in Parliament ; and the grimace of godliness, when the reality was extinguished by the fumes of ambition, with his signal military talents, at length lifted him to the throne of empire. Notwithstanding that perfection in the science of war to which he attained, he was upwards of forty when he commenced soldier ; a circumstance not to be forgotten, as it is the only splendid part of his character. He usurped the government five years * ; died at the age of fifty-nine ; married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir James Bouchier ; and had issue two sons and four daughters. His eldest daughter was first married to Ireton, afterwards to Fleetwood ; the second to John Claypole, Esq. of Northamptonshire ; the third to the lord-viscount Falconbridge ; and the fourth to Henry Rich, grandson of the earl of Warwick.

Huntingdon, to maintain herself, educate her children, and portion her daughters.

* Cromwell during the time of his usurpation made two patent peers ; viz. Colonel Charles Howard of Gilleland, created baron Gilleland and viscount Howard of Morpeth ; Edmund Dunch, created baron Burnel, of East-Wittingham, in Berkshire ; eleven baronets, and eight-and-twenty knights. Tomlinson, Goodwin, and Jones were likewise knighted by his son Henry, in the character of lord-deputy of Ireland.

C H A P. VII.

Richard Cromwell proclaimed Protector by the council and army. — Acquiescence of the people. — Parliament. — Transactions of Parliament. — Cabal of the military officers against the government. — They force Richard to dissolve the Parliament, and re-establish the Long Parliament.

THE death of Cromwell, though it gratified the resentment of individuals, was not immediately productive of deliverance to the nation. The council, and the chief officers of the army, who had advanced their particular interests under the partial administration of an individual, were unanimous in their resolution to support the form of government they had established on the dissolution of the Parliament, and even those, whom the selfish and arbitrary temper of the late usurper had disappointed of an equal division of the promised spoil, expected an ample enjoyment of power from the mean abilities, the inexperience, and consequently the more dependent situation, of his successor. It was not till the year immediately preceding the usurper's death, and after he had been confirmed in his Protectorate by the mock Parliament of 1657, that Richard Cromwell was brought to court. He had been confined in the country by his father, and excluded from

Ann. 1658.
Richard Cromwell proclaimed Protector by the council and army.
Ludlow.

public

Ann. 1658. public employ *, on the apprehension of exciting the jealousy of those whom the usurper had worked to his purposes by the hopes of succeeding him in his power. Lambert had been cajoled with mere verbal promises; but, in the favor of Fleetwood, Cromwell had actually signed an instrument in form, but afterwards, treacherously destroying it, nominated his son Richard with his last breath; and thus closed the scene of his guilty life, by an act of treachery and insincerity equal to the constant tenor of his past conduct. As the government of Richard flattered the expectations of every individual who had interest in the civil and military departments, the dying voice of the deceased usurper met with a general acquiescence. Fleetwood, without hesitation, resigned his pretensions; and Richard, in the name of the privy council, the magistrates of the city of London, the officers of the army, and numbers of other principal gentlemen †, was, the day after the usurper's decease, proclaimed the rightful Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereof.

Acqui-
escence of
the people.
Parl. Hist.
Thurloe.

The death of Cromwell, found the Royalists unprepared to engage in any new enterprize in favor of the Stewart cause; the army and marine implicitly followed the directions of their commanders, and, in very flattering terms of regard, gave the strongest assurances to Richard

* By the influence of the usurper, he was about this time elected chancellor of Oxford.

† These are the words of the proclamation.

of support and fidelity †. His brother Henry ^{Ann. 1653.} undertook for the obedience of the Irish nation; general Monk for the Scots; Lockart for the forces employed in the French service; and adulatory addresses were procured from the generality of the counties and boroughs of England; wherein, after much fulsome panegyric on the Protector's wisdom, nobleness of mind, and lovely composition of body, his father Oliver was compared to Moses, Zerubbabel, Joshua, Gideon, Elijah, David, Solomon, and Hezekiah, to Constantine the Great, and to every character which, either on true or false principles, has been celebrated in sacred and profane history for piety, goodness, wisdom, and valor. An acquiescence to Richard's government thus general, was consequently followed by the compliments and protestations of friendship in foreign states; and the new Protector, destitute of merit, experience, or the title of hereditary descent, found himself accidentally, and without interruption, lifted up to the seat of empire. After the continuing ^{Ludlow.} proclamation all civil and military officers in their respective employments, and the burying the late usurper, as the founder of the princely state of the Cromwell family, in a manner most ridiculously vain and expensive *,

† The addresses sent by the army were drawn up at Whitehall, and copies sent to the regiments in the three nations, to be subscribed. They were presented by lieutenant-general Fleetwood. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXI. p. 236.

* Ludlow gives the following humorous account of the ceremony: "One of the first acts of the new government was to order the funeral of the late usurper; and the council having resolved that it should be very magnificent, the care of it was referred to a committee, who sending for Mr. Kin-

Ann. 1653. it was found necessary to call a Parliament, to pay that enormous public debt which Oliver

nerly, master of the wardrobe, desired him to find out some precedent by which they might govern themselves in this important affair. After examination of his books and papers, Mr. Kinnerly, who was suspected to be inclined to Popery, recommended to them the solemnities used upon the like occasion for Philip the Second, king of Spain, who had been represented to be in Purgatory for about two months. In the like manner was the body of this great reformer laid in Somerset-House; the apartments were hung with black, the day-light excluded, and no other but that of wax-tapers to be seen. This scene of Purgatory continued till the first of November, which being the day preceding that commonly called All Souls, he was moved into the great hall of the said house, and represented in effigy, standing on a bed of crimson velvet, a sceptre in his hand, and a crown on his head. That part of the hall wherein the bed stood was railed in, and the rails and ground within them covered with crimson velvet; four or five hundred candles, set in flat shining candlesticks, were so placed near the roof of the hall that the light they gave seemed like the rays of the sun; by all which he was represented to be now in a state of glory. This folly and profusion so far provoked the people, that they threw dirt in the night on his escutcheon, which was placed on the great gate of Somerset House."

A detail of the whole of this ceremony, with the pageantry of the procession which attended his body to Westminster Abbey, where it was buried in the chapel of Henry the Seventh in a superb structure raised on purpose to receive it, is to be met with in the twenty-first volume of the Parliamentary History, and in several works of the Memorialists of those times. Here it is sufficient to observe, that it was of a piece with the conduct of the living man, after wealth and power had intoxicated his imagination, and perverted his manner from the simplicity, moderation, and purity of those principles on which he began his course. Ludlow informs us, that among other needless ceremonies used by Cromwell in the burial of his mother, who was also interred in Henry the Seventh's chapel, there were many hundred torches carried with the hearse, though the business was performed by day-light. The expence of the usurper's funeral is said to have been sixty thousand pounds, which exceeded by half what on the same occasion was laid out on James I. and, to compleat

had contracted, to defray the necessary expences ^{Ann. 1658.} of the state, and to fit out a strong fleet to send to the assistance of the king of Sweden, according to the articles of the mischievous treaty, which the deceased usurper had made with that potentate.

As the deceased usurper had found it im-^{Parliament.} possible to manage the independent members, whom, the new way of electing by the counties, cities, and considerable towns had introduced into the house, the mean and decayed boroughs, because open to corruption, were on this occasion reinstated in their privileges. On a similar principle, thirty members were called to serve for Ireland, and thirty for Scotland, and the writs of summons to the members of the other house were issued in the same form as those which in times of monarchy had been sent to the peers *. Threats and promises, frowns and caresses, the infamous power of pressing those in the cinque-ports who would not give

the compliment paid to his memory, a day of fasting and humiliation, in a sense of the hand of God for taking away his life, and to seek for a blessing on the new government, was observed by his successor and council, and the same was afterwards solemnized throughout the three nations. *Ludlow*, p. 186, 234. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXI. p. 238, & seq.

* The same persons who had been called by Oliver to fill his other house, were summoned by his son; but the old peers paid as little regard to the summons of the son as they had paid to that of the father. The lord-chief-justice St. John, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Crew, Popham, Pierrepont, with Sir Arthur Haslerig (who, being elected for the town of Leicester, took his seat in the house of Commons, as he had done the last Parliament), refused to attend; and these defaulters, with the absence of others employed in the service of the state, reduced the number of attending peers to forty-four. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXI. p. 263.

Ann. 1658. their votes as directed, the influence and the knavery of sheriffs, were on this as on other occasions successfully exerted to gain a majority on the side of government; but neither the operations of art nor of power had been able to prevent the election of the leaders of the Republican interest, who, though small in number, were, by their experience, abilities, zeal, sincerity, and rectitude of principle, a formidable party.

*Trans-
actions of
Parliament.*

*Journals of
the Com-
mons.
Thurloe,
Parl. Hist.
Ludlow's
Memoirs.
Bethel.*

The twenty-seventh of January was the day on which the Parliament met *. Richard acquitted himself better than was expected in his speech to the members of both houses, and was seconded, in his usual way of cant and flattery, by Nathaniel Fiennes. The Commons chose Chaloner Chute, Esq. a gentleman of an unexceptionable character, for their speaker; and, on the first of February, a bill was brought in by Thurloe, a hackneyed drudge of power, one of the council, and secretary of state, for the recognition of Richard's title to be Protector and chief magistrate of the commonwealth of England, &c. The matter of this bill was of too great importance not to call forth the utmost exertion of party. The dependents of the court, and in particular the lawyers, whose craft had been endangered by the patriotic zeal of the Republicans, would have hurried the bill through the house, and pressed for the read-

* Before the meeting of Parliament, a day of solemn fasting and humiliation was appointed by the Protector to be observed throughout the three nations, to seek the Lord for his blessing upon the proceedings of both houses, and the other affairs of state. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXI. p. 262.

ing it twice in one day *; but were opposed ^{Ann. 1658.} with success by the opposite party. On the seventh of February, the day appointed for the second reading, a long debate ensued. The court-party pleaded the injunctions of the instrument called the Petition and Advice, as a solid foundation for Richard's title; but the Republicans denied the authority of that instrument, not only on the grounds of its inconsistency, lameness, and insufficiency, but on the corrupt manner of its being procured in a convention of Cromwell's dependents †. If Alexander the Sixth, Cæsar Borgia, and their cabal, it was said, had all lain their heads together, they could not have framed a system of government more dangerous and destructive to the Liberty of the people, than was, in several particulars, the Petition and Advice, by which pernicious instrument so great a revenue was settled on the governor, that a frugal person might in a few years heap up all the treasure of the nation in his own coffers; and that giving the purse

* The party in opposition, complained that the assizes were put off, to the common wrong of the whole nation, and moved that the Protector might be desired to command their immediate commencement. The courtiers had too great a dependance on the lawyers to part with them, and also quashed the motion of their antagonists, who taxed the court with keeping several tables open at Whitehall, at the vast charge of the public, on purpose to corrupt members by great entertainments. On this occasion, it was acknowledged to be against the orders of the house, for any members, not menial servants, to go to Whitehall during the sitting of the Parliament. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXI. p. 289.

† At the creation of that monster, the Petition and Advice, it was asserted there were, of four hundred and sixty members chosen, but one hundred and four in the house; that of these, fifty-one were against it, and it was carried merely by the strength of the Scots and Irish. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXI. p. 287.

Ann. 1653. of the people to the chief magistrate, was giving all the security they can have for their rights and liberties.

The Republicans, when they had in vain urged the irregular and illegal manner in which the Humble Petition and Advice had been procured, with the exceptionableness of its contents, changed their ground, and challenged the court-party to shew, that Richard's designation to government had been made according to the directions of that act; and when, by the silence of the adversary, the point of regularity was totally given up, they argued, that as Providence had disappointed the deceased usurper of appointing his successor according to the rules laid down in the Petition and Advice, that (even on their own positions) as no one by that law could claim a right to government, it was reverted to its original the people, who ought, by their representatives, to bestow it on whom and in what manner they should think fit. The arguments urged by the Republicans were so strong and unanswerable, that, notwithstanding there was a dead majority in the house for the government of a single person, and for vesting that high trust in the family of the Cromwells, it was resolved, after a debate which lasted eight days successively, no man speaking twice to the matter, first, That it be part of this bill to recognize and declare his highness Richard Lord-Protector to be Lord-Protector and chief magistrate of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging. Secondly, that, before this bill be committed, this house do declare such additional clauses

clauses to be part of this bill, as may bound the power of the chief magistrate, and fully secure the rights and privileges of the Parliament, with the rights and privileges of the people; and that this, nor any other previous vote that is or shall be passed in order to this bill, is or shall be of force, or binding unto the people, until the whole bill be passed. The last resolution passed the house without any other negative than that of Thurloe, the secretary of state; and to this mortification sustained by the court, was added the freeing of George duke of Buckingham * from an illegal confinement inflicted on him by the late usurper †, with the releasement of Mr. John Portman ‡ and co-

* The lord Fairfax, who served in this Parliament, and whose daughter the duke of Buckingham had married, delivered a petition to the Commons in favor of his son-in-law. On the occasion of his enlargement, the speaker acquainted the duke, that the house had taken into consideration his demerits, which had been very great to the commonwealth; but they were overbalanced with the high merit of his relations, and on such reason the house had ordered, that, upon the duke's engagement upon his honor he would not abet any of the enemies of his country either at home or abroad, and of the lord Fairfax's bond in twenty thousand pounds, he should be released. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXI. p. 291.

† On the importunities of Fairfax, Cromwell had given leave for the return of the duke of Buckingham into England; but on the marriage taking place between Buckingham and Fairfax's daughter he was put under confinement, on the pretence that the sovereigns of England had a right to proceed by imprisonment against peers and great men who married without their consent. Guthrie, the historian, thinks that the usurper had designed the duke of Buckingham as a husband for one of his own daughters. *Guthrie's General History of England*, vol. III. p. 1329.

‡ The authority which the lieutenant of the Tower produced for the imprisonment of Mr. Portman, was a command from the late usurper in the following words: "Sir, I desire

you

Ann. 1658. lonel Overton; the one from an imprisonment in the Tower, and the other in the island of Jersey †.

In the recognition-bill, the courtiers had couched the acknowledgment of Richard to be Protector in words which not only admitted

you to seize major-general Harrison, Mr. Carew, Mr. Portman, &c: Do it speedily, and you shall have a warrant when you have done." The Commons voted the imprisonment of Mr. Portman illegal, unjust, and tyrannical, and freed him out of prison without paying fees or charges. " This vote (says Bethel, the author of the *Narrative of the Parliament called by Richard Cromwell*) troubled the courtiers very much; some of them, out of zeal for the reputation of their idol the deceased usurper, opposing it with tears; but several other complaints of a higher nature, as for banishments, and sending of gentlemen to the Barbadoes, came before the house, and wherein they were hindered the doing of any thing for prevention of the like in future, by their sudden dissolution, though an eminent serjeant at law was ordered to bring in a bill for that purpose." *A Brief Narrative of the Parliament called by Richard Cromwell*, by Slingby Bethel, Esq. ed. 1681. p. 342, & seq.

† On the petition of general Overton's sister, that the Parliament would take the case of her brother into consideration. the Commons voted, that his keeper should with all speed bring him, with the cause of his imprisonment, before their house, and that a frigate should forthwith be sent to fetch him from the island of Jersey, where he was confined. On his appearance at the bar, his keeper, not being able to produce any authority for his detainment but a bare command from the late usurper, without any cause shewn, the Commons voted his imprisonment illegal and unjust, and that he should be released without paying any fees or charges, on the reasons that no chief magistrate had ever power to commit any person by his own warrant, or the subjects would be without remedy in case of wrong done them; that there was no cause for Overton's imprisonment expressed in the warrant; and that, according to law, no freeman can be banished but by act of parliament; whereas sending prisoners to Jersey, being out of the reach of Habeas Corpus, is banishment according to law. *Bethel's Brief Narrative*.

their

their patron into the full possession of the re-^{Ann. 1653.} gal privileges and prerogatives enjoyed by the antient kings, but also gave their other house the full privileges and rights of the antient peerage. Defeated in these mischievous intents by the last resolution of the Commons on the subject of that bill, they were now reduced to the difficult task of defending their iniquitous pretensions against men, in whom, to a superiority of abilities, were united the higher advantages of reason, virtue, and truth *. The Republicans, taking up their arguments as high as the constitution of the government on the execution of the King, asserted, That, if that government was not legal, the whole party were guilty of the King's death; that supposing the Humble Petition and Advice (which was the production of a packed Parliament) could be allowed a legal authority; that even supposing, Cromwell's nomination of Richard to the government had been specified in proper form, and made when the deceased was in a state of understanding, adequate to the transacting so important a business; it did not appear by the contents of that Humble Petition, &c, that a free Parliament was restricted from bounding and adjusting the powers and privileges of the successor, according to

* " True eloquence, says the incomparable Milton, I find to be none but the serious and hearty love of truth, and that whose mind soever is fully possessed with a fervent desire to know good things, and with the dearest charity to infuse the knowledge of them into others, when such a man would speak, his words, like so many nimble and airy servitors, trip about him at command, and in well-ordered files, as he would wish, fall aptly in their own places."

Ann. 1658. their notions of safety, utility, and convenience. They exhorted the house to make good their vote for bounding the power of the chief magistrate, securing the rights, liberties, and privileges of the Parliament and people; and, as they had filled the hearts of all men with joy in the hopes of having their rights ascertained, so they entreated them not to disappoint those just expectations by rendering themselves jugglers, and promising what they never intended to perform.

Unanswerable as were the arguments urged by the Republicans, against re-subjecting the country to the galling yoke of former tyrannies, on the question, whether the Parliament should consist of two houses, it was carried against the sense of the party; but in the debate on the ensuing question, concerning the privileges which were to be allowed the other assembly, the Republicans, in shewing that a great part of the power exercised by the peerage had been usurpations on the people, and that the power of creating peers without the assent of the Commons was contrary to the antient constitution of the government, and usurped by Henry III, so gravelled the court-party, that, waving the matter of power and privilege, the bare question was put, Whether the members sitting in the other house should be transacted with or not.

On the putting a question, which it was apparent would be carried against them, the Republicans excepted against the constitution of the house, as it was partly composed of Scotch and Irish members, who had no color of right to their seats, either by the antient law of the land, or by the authority of the Humble Petition

tion and Advice, there having been made no distribution of powers to elect, as required by that act. As it was impossible for the courtiers to found their pretensions on the bottom of any law, they gave up that point to their antagonists, and argued, That, on the principles of prudence and good policy, it was necessary to indulge the Scotch and Irish nations in the privilege of sending members to the British Parliament. To this bare-faced fallacy the Republicans returned, That nothing could be more provoking to the nations in question, than fraudulently to give them the name of having members in Parliament when in reality they had none, most of these elections having been made at Whitehall, and several of the members who represented Scotland had never been nearer the country than Gray's Inn ; that to their plea of prudence without right, if legal rules were not observed, foundations could not be maintained ; and that, on the same principle on which sixty were now sent, three hundred might be sent on another occasion, and thus Parliaments moulded to what temper, and composed of what numbers, suited best the designs of the party in power.

The dependence of the courtiers, as usual, was on the strength of their numbers, not on the force of their reasoning. The words "legal right" were, by a previous vote, thrown out ; and the Republicans, to avoid the putting the main question, again excepted against the authority of the Parliament, as being in its whole constitution illegal, even according to the courtiers own law ; since in calling it, they had not adhered to the directions of the Petition and Advice, which (though their pretended authority

Ann. 1658. rity in the election of Richard) was an authority they also durst not abide by in the calling a Parliament; so that in effect, the representative assembly had the old law for their foundation; the pretender for his title had a law of his own; and for the admittance of Scotch and Irish members, the new law, viz. the Petition and Advice. They urged likewise, that Richard, who pretended to claim the title of Protector by a new law, had no power to call a Parliament otherwise than according to that law by which he pretended to be Protector, for the title of Protector, and the constitution of Parliaments, were by the Petition and Advice made relatives; so that consequently, the representative assembly not being called by that law, from which the sovereign derived his power who called them, they could not be, according to that law, a legal Parliament. The only advantage the Republicans gained by this contest, was protraction. After a long debate, the question was brought on, Whether the Scotch and Irish members should sit, and, by the assistance of their own votes, carried in the affirmative. This success of the courtiers was followed with the resolution

Ann. 1659. for transacting with the other house *; but with the mortifying proviso, that it should be confined to the sitting of the present Parliament; and after debating in what form and

* The Cromwellists, who on all occasions were fond of courting the old nobility, carried a further question, by way of addition to the vote for transacting with the other house; viz. That it was not intended to exclude such peers as had been faithful to the Parliament from their privilege of being duly summoned to be members of that house. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXI. p. 297.

manner the intercourse between the two houses Ann. 1659. should be carried on, it was voted, That the Commons would not shew the other house greater respect, than the other house should shew to them; that they would send members of their own to the other house, and would receive no message from that house, but what should be brought to them by some of its own body.

Thus far did the sense and spirit of the Republicans prevail over a *corrupt* and *dependent majority*; and when, on the report of the committee of examination of the accounts of the commonwealth, it appeared that the *expensive administration* of the deceased usurper, though he had found the state worth seven hundred thousand pounds, had run the nation two millions in debt; that the marine was in such bad order, one million was wanted for defraying the naval expences for the ensuing summer; and that the annual disbursements of the government, as it now stood, exceeded the national income above three hundred and thirty-two thousand pounds; their arguments had great weight on the opinions of the assembly.

But whilst the Parliament was debating the Rapin. following important points; viz. The term for granting the duration of the customs and excise; whether the power over the militia should reside in the Protector or the Parliament; and which part of the legislature should have the right of making peace or war *; whilst they

* After the resolution, that a very considerable navy should be forthwith provided and put to sea, for the safety of the commonwealth, and the preservation of its trade and commerce, the house voted, That it should be referred to the Lord Protector to put the resolution in execution; saving the interest

Ann. 1659. were considering how to retrench the charges of the government, and to bring the annual disbursements within the annual income; they met with an unexpected interruption, in a petition addressed to the Protector from the general council of officers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and communicated by Richard in a letter to the speaker.

As the death of Cromwell had found no party prepared to take any sudden measures for the establishment of their principles, the accession of his son, a man in whose abilities the different factions had nothing to fear, was acquiesced in by all. The Royalists, the Republicans, and the Fifty-monarchy-men, waited in silence a favorable opportunity to advance the interests of their several causes, whilst the superior officers of the army flattered themselves with the expectation of enjoying the reality of power, under the nominal authority of Richard. The notion that weak men are easily directed is erroneous and absurd. Opinion, will, and the love of rule, are to be found in all characters. No sooner did Richard Cromwell find himself advanced to the high station of supreme governor, than, rejecting the counsel of those whose advice carried the appearance of command, he chose a junto of dependent cabinet-counsellors*; and,

interest of the house in the militia, and the making peace and war. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXI. p. 292, & seq.

* These were the lord Broghill, doctor Wilkins, colonel Philip Jones, Thurloe, secretary of state, and Whitlock, who had truckled to every government; had accepted employment from the Long Parliament and the late usurper; had taken his seat among the Cromwellian peers; and had been reinstated by Richard in his office of commissioner of the great seal. *Ludlow.*

discarding

discarding that appearance of devotion which had gained and preserved to his father the seat of power, his favorite friends and companions ^{Ann. 1659.} + were men of loose morals, whose manners were servile, and who were void of every principle but that of gain: “Would you have me (says he publicly to an officer who had murmured against the advancement of some Cavaliers to commands in the army) prefer none but those who are godly? Here is Dick Ingoldsby, who can neither pray nor preach, and yet I will trust him before you all.” Royalist principles must be agreeable to all governors. The deceased usurper, on several occasions, had courted the nobility of this party; and, but for their continual exertions to restore his rival Charles Stewart, he would have been inclined to have favored the whole body of Cavaliers *. Henry Cromwell, for his contempt of the godly, and the favor shewn the common enemy, had highly offended the Reformists in Ireland; and, under the government of Richard, both Papists and Cavaliers were countenanced and caressed; a great number of his adherents in the lower house

+ The favorite companions, and the zealous partizans of Richard, were colonels Ingoldsby, Gough, Whalley, Howard, Goodrick, lieutenant-colonel Keins, and several others; but his party was strongest among the officers in the Scotch and Irish forces. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXI. p. 340.

* The lord Broghill and general Monk, who in the beginning of the Civil Wars had zealously engaged in the King's quarrel, Cromwell was particularly fond of. He complimented and cajoled that old Cavalier the marquis of Hertford, and made addresses, and used several expostulations to the principal men of that party, why they reserved themselves, and would have no communication or acquaintance with him. *Harris's Life of Cromwell*, p. 432, & seq.

Ann. 1659. had been of the King's party †; and Mr. Howard, a Papist, had the folly to boast publicly, that, at the instance of Richard and his secretary, he had sent twenty-four members to Parliament.

Cabal of the
military offi-
cers against
the govern-
ment.

Parl. Hist.
vol. XXI.
p. 289.

On these provocations, with the intelligence of certain advice which had been given by general Monk, tending to the restriction of religious Liberty, and of the assistance of the Presbyterians, and those Royalists who were not particularly devoted to the family of the Stewarts, to the rendering Richard an independent sovereign *, by a formidable party in the army, of which Fleetwood and Desborough were at the head, was suddenly formed to obstruct the designs of the court.

Though it had been the invariable policy of the late usurper, and that which had alone prevented his overthrow, to keep the army in detached bodies, his son Richard was weak enough

Ludlow.

† Many of these, in the beginning of the Parliament, had been expelled on the being impeached by the Republican party; but there still remained a considerable party of Royalists in the house, and these generally joined with the Protectorists, through the aversion they had to the restoring the commonwealth. *Guthrie's Hist.* vol. III. p. 1348.

* Part of the advice given by Monk to Richard was, to make a large reform in the troops, by putting two regiments into one, that on such pretence he might have an opportunity of cashiering all disaffected (i. e. Republican) officers, and putting the army into the hands of men he could trust (i. e. his own creatures). This is the plan it is supposed Cromwell would have executed had he lived. His son Richard, in communicating this intention, and that of bringing in new members, who should insure him a majority in the council, was betrayed to those whose interest was concerned in defeating his purpose. *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. VII. p. 387. *Rapin*, vol. XIII. p. 163, & seq.

to give way to the calling a council of officers, under the pretence of offering something to the Parliament for the regulation and maintenance of the soldiery, and on the insinuation that the Parliament might prove dangerous to his authority, and that the assembling together of the military would keep them in awe. The first meeting of this assembly, carried so unpromising an aspect to the court, that a motion that the Protector should be declared general of the army found little approbation; whilst another proposition, that it would be more advantageous to the army, and more conducing to the good of the nation, for the military and civil power to be placed in different hands, that the one might serve as a balance to the other, was received with an almost-universal applause*. A petition, insisting that a commander in chief should be appointed; that he should have power to give commissions to all inferior officers; and that no officer should be broken without trial by a court-martial; was presented to Richard from the inferior officers: And, on Richard's refusal to comply with the request, it was followed by another from the general council of the officers Parl. Hist. of the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in which the petitioners complained, That the good old cause against tyranny and intolerable oppression, in matters civil and religious, was publicly derided and reproached; that its implacable adversaries began to appear every where,

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id * Thurloe (in a letter to Henry Cromwell) hints, that, from the first of Richard's accession to the government, there were secret murmurings among the military, that the conduct of the army should be in other hands. *Thurloe's State Papers.*

Ann. 1659. and to obtrude themselves in those places, where that cause was wont to receive its chiefest countenance and shelter; that several of the old Cavaliers, and officers who had served under the late king and his son Charles Stewart, had transported themselves out of Flanders into England, and, with others who had always shewn themselves disaffected to the famous Long Parliament, and ever since to the cause and interest of their country, had their frequent meetings, grew very insolent, and offered many affronts and assaults to the faithful servants of the commonwealth; that lists of the names of those who had been the eminent assertors of the Liberty of the nation, and the actual triers of the late king, were scattered up and down, as if they were marked out for destruction; that encouragement was given for the prosecution of several well-affected persons, and suits commenced against them at common law, for matters transacted as soldiers by command from their superiors, in order to the safety and security of the nation. " We cannot but bewail, said the petitioners, our own great failings and turnings aside; and do therefore, for the strengthening of your highness and Parliament, for the reviving the hearts of our faithful friends, and the vindication of our own integrity against all censures and jealousies, assert that we are now as ever equally endeared to our good old cause, and utter enemies to all tyranny, oppression, and disturbance of the public peace, under what pretence foever; and, through the Lord's assistance, resolved, whilst our lives and present capacities are continued to us, to stand by and assist your highness and Parliament,

Parliament, in the plucking the wicked out of ^{Ann. 1659.} their places, wheresoever they may be discovered, either among ourselves or in any other places of trust; in the reformation of law and manners, so frequently declared for, and so earnestly expected by all sober and unbiassed men; in opening the course of justice and bowels of mercy; and in encouraging the ways of holiness, and putting a stop to the inundation of malignancy and prophaneness." The petitioners ended their petition with a desire, that the Protector would take into his serious consideration the sad condition of the armies, and danger of the nation, both from the want of pay, and the activity of the enemy; and that his highness would be pleased to lay the matter of their representation before the Parliament, with the petitioners humble desire and prayer, that a speedy supply should be made for the army, their past arrear satisfied, and care taken for their constant pay so long as it should be thought fit to continue them; and that there should be such a public asserting of the good old cause, and justification of all proceedings in prosecution and maintenance against its enemies, as should for the future deter all persons from speaking or attempting any thing to its prejudice, or to the prejudice of those who had acted towards its support.

These were the contents of that petition communicated by Richard to the speaker, and which gave the interruption to the Parliament in the midst of their important debates. The Republicans would have taken into immediate consideration the grievances complained of by the army; but were out-voted by the courtiers,

Ann. 1659. who carried the question, That, during the sitting of the Parliament, there should be no general council or meeting of the officers of the army, without the direction, leave, and authority of his highness the Lord-Protector and both houses of Parliament ; and another, which was assented to without any division, That no person should have or continue any command or trust in any of the armies or navies of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or any the dominions or territories thereunto belonging, who should refuse to subscribe, that they would not disturb or interrupt the free meetings in Parliament of any of the members of either house, or the freedom in their debates and councils.

After passing these votes, the Commons resolved that they would take into consideration, the next morning, how the arrears of the army and navy might be speedily satisfied ; and ordered in a bill for indemnifying all such as had acted under the Parliament and commonwealth.

The military faction against the government was not to be either frightened by the angry votes of the Commons, or cajoled by the resolutions which had passed in their favor. They continued to meet as before, though in a more private manner ; and at length, on finding that Richard was determined to trust to the majority he had obtained in the house of Commons* for

* The chief commanders of the army were all members of the other house ; and had so large a party in it, that, notwithstanding its privileges were zealously tickled for by the court, on the opinion that political distinctions are the chief support of power, a declaration for a fast, which contained expressions reflecting on the Republicans, passed with difficulty, and the concurrence with the votes of the Commons on the subject of the military cabal was carried but by one voice. *Parl. Hist.*

the support of his government, it was concluded ^{Ann. 1659.} that there should be a rendezvous of the army at St. James's. A counter-rendezvous was appointed by Richard at Whitehall; but those colonels who were of his party could not persuade their soldiers to follow them. Even some of his own guard went off to St. James's, and those who stayed behind, declared they would oppose no one who should come to them by order from lieutenant-general Fleetwood.

In this extremity, to which Richard was brought by the intemperate counsel of his bosom-companions, he was visited by his uncle Desborough, who told him, that, if he would dissolve the Parliament, he should be taken care of by the army; but, if he refused, they would do it themselves, and leave him to shift as he could. Richard, with much unwillingness, consented to what was demanded. The Commons having an intimation of the design, took no notice of a message to attend the Protector in the other house, and adjourned till eight o'clock the next morning; but their meeting was interrupted, by a proclamation declaring them to be dissolved, by setting a padlock on the door of their house, and by placing a guard in the Court of Requests.

Though the whole army had in a manner concurred in depriving Richard of the power they had allowed him on the death of his father, yet they were very far from united in their opinions, inclinations, and views, concerning a future plan of policy and government. Fleetwood, Desborough, Sydenham, Clarke, Kelsey, and other principal officers who had advanced Richard on the expectation of keeping the ad-

Ann. 1659. ministration of the government in their own hands, were still desirous, now they had humbled his pretensions, of supporting him in a more limited Protectorship ; but the Republicans among the military, headed by colonels Ashfield, Lilbourn, Fitz, Mason, &c. with Ludlow, Vane, Haslerig, Nevil, and other leaders of that party in the late Parliament, absolutely refused to hearken to any propositions of accommodation with the Protector*. Encouraged by the confused state of public affairs, the Royalists, in conjunction with the Presbyterians, had entered into cabals for another insurrection ; and France and Spain, who were on the point of concluding a peace, it was expected would unite in assisting the common enemy to raise disturbances in England.

In this extreme urgency of affairs, the ambition of Fleetwood, Desborough, and of Lambert, who had been restored by the authority of the council of war †, gave way to the appre-

* Mr. John Barwick, in a letter to Sir Edward Hyde, writes, “ Both Desborough and Fleetwood are now as low in the esteem of the officers as before they were high, being looked upon as self-seekers ; in that they are for a Protector, now they have got one of wax, whom they can mould as they please, and lay aside when they can agree upon a successor ; whereas the common voice of the army is for a commonwealth, and the Long Parliament revived.” At the same time that an assembly of officers attended general Fleetwood at Wallingford-House, to consult on the measures to be taken after the dissolution of the Parliament, a far greater number met at St. James’s, who declared it as their opinion, That nothing could be more advantageous for the nation than the re-establishment of the Long Parliament. *Thurloe’s State Papers*, vol. VII. p. 666. *Rapin*, vol. XIII. p. 170.

† Lambert, in his excuses to the Republican party for having acted against the Long Parliament, exposed a curious piece of treachery

hension of danger. The people, it was found ^{Ann. 1659.} by experience, would never but with difficulty be induced to pay taxes levied by arbitrary will and pleasure. Petitions from all parts flowed ^{Ludlow.} in for the re-establishment of the Long Parliament*; and, as the Republicans had never acknowledged the authority which dissolved them, it was unanimously agreed to revive the power of that patriot assembly.

After some preliminary assurances from the ^{Parl. Hist.} leading members of indemnity for past transactions, a declaration was set forth by the army, in which they lamented the backslidings of many, which had brought the state into the dangerous way in which it then stood; a danger to which they owned they had themselves contributed; by wandering from righteous and equal paths: That observing, they said, the

treachery in Cromwell, who, he averred, privately persuaded Sir Henry Vane and Sir Arthur Haslerig against his being sent into Ireland in the character of deputy, and that when he had underhand crossed him in that employment, he was the first who exasperated him against those persons, telling him that nothing troubled him so much as to see honest John Lambert so ungratefully treated. *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. VII. p. 660.

* Even so early as the commencement of the last Parliament, when the bill for recognizing Richard to be Protector was in debate, a petition in favor of a Republic was presented to the house by a formidable body of citizens; and, after the army had declared themselves, it was seconded by another from the sectaries called Quakers. This last petition was highly resented, and the following angry answer returned: That the house had read the paper, and did declare their dislike of the scandals thereby cast upon magistracy and ministry; and did therefore order that the petitioners should forthwith resort to their respective habitations, and there apply themselves to their callings, and submit to the laws of the nation and the magistracy. *Guthrie's General Hist.* vol. III. p. 1348. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXI. p. 347.

Ann. 1659. spirit which formerly appeared among them did daily decline, so as the good old cause itself became a reproach, they had been led to look back and examine the occasion of the Lord's withdrawing his wonted presence from them; and, among other things, calling to mind that the Long Parliament, consisting of the members which continued sitting until the twentieth of April 1653, were eminent assertors of that equitable cause, and had a special presence of God with them, they judged it their duty to invite them to return to the exercise and discharge of their trust.

Ludlow.

When Lenthall, the speaker, was acquainted with the intentions of the army, the silly vain old man (who had kept up a correspondence with and accepted of an office under the Cromwells, and who was moreover displeased at losing with his seat in the other house his ideal peerage *) refused to send his letters to those

* Ludlow gives the following account of the vanity of this weak old man: " Mr. William Lenthall, who had been speaker of the Parliament, was very much disturbed that a writ was not sent for him to enable him to sit in the other house. He complained, that he, who had been for some years the first man in the nation, was now denied to be a member of either house; for he was incapable of sitting in the house of Commons by his place of master of the Rolls, whereby he was obliged to sit as assistant in the other house. This grievous complaint coming to the ears of Cromwell, he sent him a writ, which so elevated the poor man, that riding in his coach through the Strand, and seeing Mr. Lambert Osbaldiston, formerly master of the school at Westminster, whom he knew to be a great lover of Sir Arthur Haslerig, he asked him what Sir Arthur designed in answer to the writ which he had received; and Mr. Osbaldiston answering that he knew not what the intentions of Sir Arthur Haslerig were concerning it, he replied, " I pray write to him, and desire him by no means to omit taking his place in that house; and assure him from me, that

all

members who were about the town for their ^{Ann. 1653.} immediate assembling. After urging in vain the frivolous objection, that he thought the Long Parliament legally dissolved by the King's death, he could by no means, he said, comply with the request, having appointed a business of far greater importance to himself, which he would not omit on any account, as it concerned the salvation of his soul. The officers, on pressing to know what that important business could be, were told that he was preparing to participate of the Lord's Supper, which he was resolved to take the next Sabbath-day. To this hypocritical excuse the officers returned, that mercy was more acceptable to God than sacrifice, and that he could not better prepare himself for the aforesaid duty than by contributing to the public good. But finding their remonstrances had no effect, they took upon themselves to summon the members; and Lenthall finding, on the succeeding day, that a quorum of the house was likely to meet, he thought proper to postpone the care of his soul, and attend the business of his office.

The Painted Chamber, the Court of Requests, and the lobby joining to the house, were lined with the principal officers of the army; who, as the members passed through with their ^{May 7.} speaker at their head, testified their resolution to live and die with the Parliament. The same cheerful assurances of fidelity were re-echoed by the voice of the multitude.

"all that do so shall themselves and their heirs be for ever peers of England." *Ludlow*, p. 227.

REPUBLIC RESTORED.

C H A P. VIII.

Transactions of Parliament.—Richard Cromwell submits to the government.—Union of the two factions of Cavaliers and Presbyterians.—Insurrection.—Insurrection suppressed.—Desperate state of the royal party.—Factious conduct of the army.—Petitions.—Spirited resolutions of Parliament.—*Interruption of the Parliament.*

Ann. 1659.

THE Republicans, by their wisdom, valor, and inflexible resolution, having acquired possession of the reins of government, though inconsiderable in their numbers, would have maintained their post against all domestic and foreign opposition, had not the mischievous ambition of Cromwell introduced division in their party, debauched the morals of their army, and interrupted that career of glory and prosperity which attended their councils. That authority in the Parliament which had subdued domestic tyranny, and vindicated the honor of the nation to foreign states, was weakened, if not destroyed, by the triumph of the military over the civil power, and by the prejudices which, during the usurpation of Cromwell, their enemies had infused into the minds of the people. The two factions of Cavaliers and Presbyterians, their in-

veterate

veterate opponents, made a large majority of the nation ; and the small party, which, by principle and inclination, were attached to the Liberty of their country, were distracted in their politics by religious whimsies, and their minds infected with a hopeless languor on the disappointment they had sustained from the vicious conduct of Cromwell. The usurper had left the finances in disorder, and the public in debt ; a large sum of money it was now necessary to raise on the country, for the support of the state at home and the reputation of the nation abroad ; and the enemies to the government would not fail of taking the advantage this opportunity gave them to inflame the minds of the people. The only instrument which the Parliament could use to coerce necessary measures, was an army, which Cromwell by his precepts had fired with the ambition of independant power, and whose leaders impatiently waited the opportunity to tread in his footsteps.

Gloomy was the present prospect ; but the courage of that illustrious knot of patriots who composed the Republican Parliament, was not to be dismayed with difficulties and dangers. They eagerly embraced the first opportunity of renewing their services to their country, and, with a full determination to subject if possible the military to the civil power, complied without hesitation with the request of the army to return to the duties of their station.

One of the first transactions of the Parliament * was the setting forth a declaration on Transac-
tions of Par-
liament.

* In the Journals of Parliament, an entry was made of the fatal transaction of the twentieth of April, 1653, in the following words : " This day his excellency the lord-general dis-
solved

Ann. 1659. the grounds of the declaration of the army
 Journals. in which the people were assured, that their
 Parl. Hist. representatives would endeavor the settlement
 of a commonwealth upon such a foundation as
 should assert, establish, and secure their proper-
 ties and Liberties, and that they would vigor-
 ously endeavor the carrying on of reformation.
 An attempt to interrupt them in this business
 was undertaken by the members secluded in
 1648, headed by Mr. Prynne, who, forcing him-
 self into the house, labored after his usual
 manner, by a long string of tedious arguments,
 to persuade the members that their right of
 sitting had terminated with the King's life.
 The members endeavored to get rid of so
 troublesome an intruder, by asking him why
 he took his seat in Parliament, if his opinion
 was that the assembly was legally dissolved?
 Sir Henry Vane advised him as a friend to de-
 part, lest some course would be taken with him
 for his presumption; but neither good nor rough
 usage having any effect on the obstinate temper
 of Prynne, the house was obliged to break up
 abruptly, and postpone their business to another
 day; and, on their re-meeting, they took care
 to guard the leading avenues in a manner which
 effectually prevented the like intrusion.

The undertaking to subdue the refractory
 spirit of servants armed with the sword, and at
 the same time to contend with the stubborn

solved the present Parliament." This entry the Parliament
 on their return to the exercise of their authority, declared to
 be a forgery; ordered it to be expunged; and on Scobell, the
 clerk of that Parliament, acknowledging it to be his hand-
 writing, they referred it to a committee whether the act of
 indemnity extended to the pardoning that offence.

prejudices

prejudices of the Presbyterians and Cavaliers, was ^{Ann. 1659.} of a piece with the magnanimity of the former conduct of Parliament. In the constituting the council of state, care was taken that the leading officers of the army (who, by their meetings at general Fleetwood's at Wallingford-House, were nominated in distinction the Wallingford-House Party) should not be the majority. In the commission which appointed Fleetwood to be lieutenant-general, it was inserted that the command should only continue during the pleasure of the house. It was voted, that a committee of seven persons should nominate to such commands as became vacant *. The house resolved, that all commissions should be received from the speaker, and signed by him in the name of the Parliament; all writs were ordered to run, as before, in the name of the Keepers of the Liberties of England; a commission of the peace was issued, wherein the officers of justice were new modelled; a resolution passed, that no member of Parliament should be judge † in any court; the custody of the great-seal was given to Bradshaw, Tyrrell, and Fountain ‡; and the committee of safety §, who served as a

* Commissioners for nominating commission-officers: Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, Ludlow, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, colonel James Bury. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXI. p. 399.

† Ludlow says, this resolution was passed lest the judges, by their influence in the house, should prevent the intended reformation of the law. *Ludlow*, p. 248.

‡ The Parliament on this occasion restored the great-seal they had ordained after the king's execution.

§ Committee of safety: Fleetwood, Haslerig, Vane, Ludlow, Scot, colonels Sydenham, Jones, and major Salway. Lambert, Desborough, and Bury, were afterwards added, though

Ann. 1659. temporary council of state till the act could be passed for the constituting that body, were invested with powers to raise what forces they thought proper for one month, to secure all suspected persons, horses, and arms, and to put arms into the hands of all those whom they judged to be faithful to the commonwealth.

The city of London, which had been forward in compliments to every different government, addressed the Parliament on their re-establishment. This example was followed by the borough of Southwark and several counties. Monk, with his army in Scotland *, colonel

though not members of Parliament. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXI. p. 380. *Guthrie*, vol. III. p. 1353.

* The following is the cordial and particular style of Monk and the army in Scotland : “ That a nation may be born in a day is a truth which this day’s experience witnesseth unto us, against all the dictates of human reason ; and that a glorious cause, whose interest was laid low, even in the dust, should be in one day restored to its life and lustre, when all the assertors of it had so manifestly declined it, by a defection of many years, cannot be imputed to less than the greatest and most powerful manifestation of the arm of God that ever they or former generations ever heard of. In the sense of this, the greatest of our temporal mercies, we now come to address your honors, as those whose presence we have so long wanted, that, had you stayed but a little longer, it might have been left to be enquired what England was ; we mean, what was become of that people by whom God for so many years filled the world with so much admiration and terror. We cannot but acknowledge, to our exceeding great sorrow and shame, that ourselves, though we hope most of us through our weakness and frailty, not out of design, have very much contributed to those provocations which have caused God to depart from our Israel, and we could heartily wish that among those who help to make up your own number there had not been a helping hand to this sad and deplorable work. But we see, when God’s hour is come, and the time of his peoples deliverance, even the set time, at hand, he cometh skipping over all the mountains of sin and unworthiness that we daily cast in his way.

Jones, who was at the head of the military in ^{Ann. 1659.} Ireland, Lockhart, who commanded the troops at Dunkirk, and the marine forces, gave the Parliament the strongest assurances also of acquiescence and fidelity.

way. We are not willing to detain your honors too long on this subject ; and therefore, beseeching the God of all mercies to heal the backslidings of his people, and not to charge unto their accounts in this the day of their deliverance their mis-
marriages, whilst they were wandering in dark and slippery places after the imaginations of their own hearts, we, with all humility and affection, in the first place, congratulate you on his your happy restoration to the government of these nations, which God was once pleased so to own in your hands as to make you both the praise and wonder of the earth, the glory and rejoicing of his people, and the terror of your adversaries ; and we acknowledge it a singular condescension in you, in this day of so great difficulties, to take upon you so heavy a burthen." The army, after the petitioning that some provision might be made for the Cromwell family, that the work of reformation might be soon completed, godliness countenanced, and that the Parliament would suffer no yoke to be imposed on the consciences of God's people, but such as was agreeable to his word, end their address with the following prayer :

That you would so vindicate and assert the native rights and liberties of these nations in and by the government of a free state, that there may not be the voice of an oppressed one in our land, but that all may enjoy the blessed fruits of your righteous and peaceable government ; and, for the prevention of all possibility for ambitious spirits ever to work their ends against you, we humbly desire you to be very careful as well what persons you entrust with the management of the armies and navies of this commonwealth, as of the measure of that power and authority you depart with to them or substitute in them. Touching the qualifications of the persons, we desire they may be truly godly and conscientious ; touching the measure of their authority, that it may be adequate to the nature and being of a commonwealth. Whilst, continues the Address, you are thus pleading and asserting the interest of God and his people, you may rest assured with greatest confidence, that it shall appear in your defence and the vindication of your authority, against the opposition of all arbitrary powers whatever." *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXI. p. 414, & seq.

Ann. 1659. The joy with which these favorable circumstances filled the true friends to Liberty, was soon clouded by the factious and petulant conduct of the army at home; whose leaders had shewn such reluctance to sacrifice their ambitious pretensions to the public good, as to scruple the taking an oath framed for the excluding the government of a single person; and who were also highly disgusted at those resolutions which tended to render them subordinate to the civil power; who continued their meetings, and drew up a petition to the Parliament, in which they said, they unanimously acknowledged the lord Fleetwood to be the commander in chief of the forces of the commonwealth; and they desired, that those who had served under the late power might be indemnified by an act; that the debts of the Protector Richard might be satisfied; that he might have ten thousand pounds a-year added to his revenue; that the government of the nation might consist of a representative of the people and a select senate; that care might be taken for the payment of the army; and that liberty of conscience might be secured to all such a professed faith in Jesus Christ, and who were not scandalous in their conversation.

Parl. Hist. vol. XXI. p. 383, 421. The Parliament, without making any comments on the arrogant style of the address returned answer to the petitioners, That they would take their desires into speedy consideration, and give them satisfaction as far as should be possible. On the being pressed for a more positive answer, they came to the resolution That the Liberty of the persons, and property of the estates of all the free people of the

nation

nations shall be maintained, preserved, and kept inviolable, according to law, under the government of a free state or commonwealth, without a single person or house of Lords ; and that there shall be such a just and due regulation of law, and courts of justice and equity, as that they shall be a protection and not a vexation to the people. But, continuing stedfast in their purpose to master the headstrong humor of the army, they dispatched bills to the purport of their former resolutions ; and in their act of indemnity * excepted those persons, who, by selling of places, or by exorbitant and double salaries, and other sinister means, had raised fortunes at the expence of the public under the late usurpation ; and, before they passed any resolution in favor of Richard Cromwell, they sent a deputation, requiring that, according to the direction of a previous notice, he would remove from Whitehall, and give some testimony of his submission to the present government.

The Parliament's messengers † found Richard (whom the factious officers, notwithstanding their former treatment, had endeavored to make an instrument of discord) in a disposition as peaceable as could be desired. He trusted, he said, his carriage and behavior had manifested his acquiescence in the will and good pleasure of God, and that he loved and valued the peace of

Richard
Cromwell
submits to
the govern-
ment.

* No person was to receive benefit by the act of indemnity who did not subscribe the following declaration. " I do declare, that, through the assistance of Almighty God, I will be true, faithful, and constant to this commonwealth, without a single person, kingship, or house of Peers." *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXI. p. 433, & seq.

† These were Sir Gilbert Pickering, and the lord-chief-justice St. John. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXI. p. 419.

Ann. 1659. the commonwealth much above his private concernment ; that, as to the late providence which had fallen out, however in respect to the particular engagement which lay upon him, he could not be active in making a change in the government of the nations, yet, through the goodness of God, he could freely acquiesce in it, being made ; and did hold himself obliged, as with other men he might expect protection from the present government, so to demean himself with all peaceableness under it, and to procure to the uttermost of his power, that all in whom he had interest should do the same *.

The Parliament, at the same time that they sent to Richard for some testimony of his acquiescence, directed him to give in a state of his circumstances ; and by the schedule annexed to the paper of submission it appeared, that when the fortunes of his brother Henry, his sister Frances, his mother's jointure, and other annuities were paid, he had only remaining thirteen hundred a-year, and that burthened with a debt of upwards of thirty thousand pound. On the examination of the schedule and paper of submission †, the Parliament declared, that the

* These sentiments expressed by Richard are honest and pious ; and they would have done him honor had they been his own. His conduct on this occasion is commendable ; but it highly scoffed at by that orthodox Christian Clarendon, who cannot help shewing a veneration for Oliver, on account of his prosperous villainy. *Clar. Hist.* vol. III. p. 518, & seq.

† The paper of submission was dictated by a committee of Parliament appointed to take into consideration the present condition of Richard, to inform themselves what his estate was, what his debts, how they had been contracted, and how far he did acquiesce in the government of the commonwealth. *Par. Hist.* vol. XXI. p. 412, 419.

accepted in good part what was expressed in ^{Ann. 1659.} the paper ; and, in testimony of their approbation, did put in oblivion all matters passed in reference to Richard Cromwell, and would take upon themselves his just debts, not exceeding the sums contained in the schedule*. After this declaration, the Parliament ordered, That it be referred to the committee for the inspection of the Treasury to consider in what manner these debts were to be paid, and resolved that two thousand pounds should be advanced for Richard's present occasions †.

The Parliament, on their return to the exercise of their authority, had resolved that Ireland ^{Ludlow, P. 253.} should from thenceforth be managed by commissioners, and had sent orders to Henry Cromwell to come over, and give them an account of the state of that country. Henry at first hesitated whether he should obey the command, and, by the advice of some of his friends of the royal party, had entertained the desperate and revengeful thoughts of proclaiming in Dublin Charles Stewart to be king ; but ^{Carte's Collections, vol. II. p. 243.} on sounding the inclinations of the army, and finding the majority inclined to a submission to the Parliament, he quietly resigned his command, came over to England, and by per-

* According to some writers, the Parliament rejected the payment of the money the usurper's funeral had cost ; but I do not find that this article was in the schedule delivered to the Parliament.

† The Parliament afterwards appointed a committee to consider what was fit to be done for the comfortable and honorable subsistence of Richard Cromwell ; but as Richard was rated to pay the penalty of his father's transgressions, both the settlement of this subsistence and the payment of his debts were reverted by the confusions which suddenly came on.

Ann. 1659. mission of the government retired into the country.

Thus, to a very inconsiderable station in the commonwealth, from the seat of supreme power, obtained by breach of the most serious and solemn obligations, and in violation of every religious and moral rule, fell suddenly the family of the Cromwells. As the rage of ambition had excited the father to neglect the firm establishment of himself and family in the first and most opulent rank of citizens, in a glorious and flourishing republic, with the enjoyment of every degree of power and influence which is compatible with the safety of a free state, so the same selfish pertinacity in his children and their friends deprived them of a good share of that high fortune his villany had enabled him to leave them at his death. It is the opinion of a very worthy member of Richard's Parliament, and the same is confirmed by the testimony of Ludlow and other cotemporary writers, that the downfall of the Protector, though his pretensions to supreme power had no better foundation than a proclamation signed by a few of his friends, was entirely owing to the tenaciousness of his party; for so low at this juncture were the hopes of the Republicans, that, would such a moderate share of power as in any measure could have been made agreeable to public Liberty have satisfied the Cromwellians, the patriot members would have closed immediately with the court, settled the power of Richard on a legal foundation, granted money for the payment of the army and the other exigencies of government, and thus defeated the intentions of the factious officers

Bethel's
Brief Narra-
tive,

whoſe

whose success was solely owing to the spinning ^{Ann. 1659.} out the debates * without coming to any salutary conclusion, and to that acrimony which of course the contention occasioned between the courtiers and the Republicans †.

The Royalists of all denominations, during the sitting of the last Parliament, had in general been very earnest in their endeavors to fix tyranny on their country in the house of Cromwell. Richard's Parliament had been sufficiently ^{Parl. Hist.} ^{vol. XXI.} ^{p. 348, &c seq.} alarmed with the resort to the metropolis of the malignant party, as to pass a declaration for all such dangerous persons to depart the cities of London and Westminster, and lines of communication, to the distance of twenty miles; but on the dissolution of that assembly, and the annihilation of the power of the Protectorate,

* Whether it should be *agnising* the Protector (a term insisted on by the Republicans, as it carried a sense that Richard's title was founded on the consent of the people), or *recognising* him (which was founding his right on the dying words of the Protector), was the subject of a long contention; and so tenacious were the courtiers, that, on points of as little importance, the debates were spun to such a length as to kill two speakers with the fatigue of the attendance; viz. Chaloner Chute, Esq. and Sir Lifebone Long. *Parl. Hist.* ^{vol. XXI. p. 285.}

† "On the question, says Bethel, of bounding the power of the chief magistrate, such was the disingenuity of the court-party, being made up of household servants, officers, suitors for offices, lawyers (the corrupt part of whose trade cannot be maintained but by a corrupt government), Scotch and Irish members, chosen by the Pretender's interest, that no arguments of honor or honesty could engage them to be faithful to their country; such as were most open confessing plainly, That they were so far from intending to bound the chief magistrate, that they desired to give him as much power as any king or prince of England ever had." *Bethel's Brief Narrative of the Parliament of Richard Cromwell.*

Ann. 1659. the Anti-republicans, laying aside their particular Union of the animosities, united in the common cause of two factions of Cavaliers and Presbyterians. overturning a government, which, if suffered to continue, would destroy all their hopes of fixing sovereignty in the hands of an individual.

Insurrection On the shallow pretence of demanding a free and full Parliament, though the present assembly had declared they would sit no longer than the seventh of May, 1660, a resolution was taken by the Cavaliers and Presbyterians to rise in arms, and to seize the following towns: Lord Willoughby of Parham and Sir Horatio Townshend, a treacherous member of the present Parliament, undertook Lynn in Norfolk; general Massey, Gloucester; lord Newport, the town of Shrewsbury; Sir George Booth, Chester; Arundel, Pollard, Granville, and Trelawney, Plymouth and Exeter; and Sir William Middleton, an old dotard of near fourscore years of age, was to rise in North-Wales.

Charles Stewart was arrived at Calais, to take advantage of the occasion, and his brother James at Boulogne, in order to transport himself over to England with a party of Frenchmen to favor the insurrection; when, to the great disappointment of the two brothers, before the day appointed for rising, the greater number of the conspirators was seized by order of the government and thrown into prison. The Parliament had procured intelligence of the particulars of the dangerous combination, from Thurloe, secretary to the two Cromwells; who, to render himself useful to the reigning powers, had continued his correspondence with Sir Richard Willis, a man highly trusted by the King's party, who had been the chief instrument

ment in defeating the former schemes of the ^{Ann. 1659.} Royalists, and who had engaged to reveal all ^{Hume.} conspiracies so far as to prevent their effects.

As it had been pre-concerted by the conspirators, that no seizure of the persons of individuals should prevent those who were at liberty from entering into action, Sir George Booth, with the lord Cholmondeley, the lord Kilmurry, ^{Guthrie.} and his brother Mr. Brook, a member of Parliament, colonel Ireland, and others, appeared in arms at the head of three thousand men at Routon-Heath; and, after publishing a manifesto, declaring that the reason of their rising was to obtain a free Parliament, and to contend with the faction at Westminster, with the assistance of the earl of Derby, the lord Herbert of Cherberry, Mr. Lee, and colonel Morgan, they took possession of Chester. These knights-errant were joined by Sir William Middleton, with his quota of troops, from North-Wales; and Warrington in Lancashire fell into the hands of the party *.

* Though they were almost all Presbyterians who appeared at the head of this insurrection, and veiled their purposes under the specious pretext of contending for a full and free representative, yet these insurgents, by the direction of Charles Stewart, were every where joined by the Cavaliers, who, with their wonted imprudence, fully discovered what their associates wished to conceal. The council of state gave to the Parliament an information from Cheshire, That Charles Stewart, by the name of Charles the Second, had been proclaimed at Wrexham, a market-town, and other places near Chester, and that many of the Cavaliers who acted in the first war were joined with Sir George Booth in this insurrection, and did already fall to their wonted profane courses of drinking healths openly to Charles Stewart upon their bare knees, and did declare themselves in the principles of the old Cavaliers. With this information the council of state offered their opinion to the Parliament, That, by declaratory votes, the good

Ann. 1659. On the first intelligence of this insurrection, ^{Insurrection} the council of state voted fourteen regiments, ^{suppressed.} each consisting of one thousand men, to be immediately raised ; gave major-general Skippon the command of the London militia ; and the Parliament, after confirming these resolutions, and declaring for traitors the leaders of the insurrection, ordered Lambert to march against the enemy, with three regiments of horse and three of foot. This party was to be joined in their march by a considerable body of the militia. On the merit of Lambert's experienced vigilance and military capacity, notwithstanding the jealousy they had entertained of his principles, the Parliament had conferred this command ; nor did he disappoint their most sanguine expectations ; for taking the enemy by surprize, when they thought he was two days march distant, he suddenly attacked and routed the whole party ; and this misfortune, with the failure of all the other projects, by the preventive vigilance of Thurloe, flung the united factions of Cavaliers and Presbyterians into a paroxysm of despair, and at length convinced them that their rational hopes were solely founded in the dissensions of their governors.

Desperate state of the royal party.

Notwithstanding the low state of their finances, and the impossibility of raising large sums of money * without provoking the acrimonious

good people of these nations, and particularly in the city of London, might be undeceived, be warned of the danger of adhering to or abetting the said insurrections, and be encouraged to shew their good affections to the commonwealth in suppressing the same. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXI. p. 442. *Clar. Hist.* vol. III. p. 526.

* The Parliament passed a bill for an assessment of one hundred thousand pounds a-month to be raised in England, Scotland,

temper of the people, with the difficulty they ^{Ann. 1659.} had to defend their government against the turbulency of the army and the malignity of the Anti-republicans, the Parliament were in no sense neglectful of securing the foreign interests of their country, and preserving that high reputation the nation had acquired under their former glorious administration.

Richard's ministers, following the pernicious politics of their late master, would have assisted in totally crushing the king of Denmark, and sacrificing the safety of all Europe to the ambition of the Swede; but the Republican party ^{Bethel.} _{P. 342.} in the last Parliament strongly representing the danger of such measures, the court was obliged to give up the point so far as to consent to act a neutral part; and Montague's instructions, who was to command the squadron to be sent into the Baltic, were to endeavor a mediation between the contending powers. On the re-establishment of the Long Parliament, that patriotic assembly took up the matter in a higher tone; and a convention, by Downing, the ^{Thurloe's State-Papers, vol. VII.} English ambassador, was concluded at the Hague, to second the mediation with the united force of the two republics. Algernon Sydney, Sir Robert Honeywood, and Mr. Boon, were

Scotland, and Ireland, and enforced an old act for the sale of the castles, goods, and hereditaments belonging to the royal family. Among these, the sale of Hampton-Court (on the motion of Ludlow, that it would in the summer be a pleasant retreat for the servants of the state) was suspended. Somerset-House was actually sold for the sum of ten thousand pounds; but the chapel was kept for the use of the French Protestants. Whitehall was also reserved for the reception of the several committees of Parliament. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXI. p. 427, 430, 449.

appointed

Ann. 1659. appointed commissioners on the part of the English; and orders were sent to Montague to act in every respect in conjunction with the Dutch admiral, till such a peace was concluded as should secure the navigation and commerce of England and Holland in the Baltic.

When the English commissioners, who found the king of Sweden employed in the siege of Copenhagen, had reported their instructions, and the change of the English politics, that monarch, transported with rage and vexation at the unexpected disappointment of his ambitious hopes, clapped his hand upon his sword, and with a stern look, addressing himself to the commissioners of the two republics, said, " You make projects upon the strength of your fleets; I wear mine by my side :" But finding it impossible to resist, he gave way to necessity, and accepted the mediation.

The treaty of Rosechield, which had been concluded between the two kings before the last irruption of the Swedes into Denmark, was to be the basis of the negotiation; and, to the great honor and glory of England, who had thus timely interfered in the preservation of the balance between the northern powers *, a treaty of peace would have been suddenly concluded, had it not met with some interruption from the base conduct of Montague †; who,

* Whilst the Parliament was thus preserving the king of Denmark from the ruin which awaited him, that ungrateful monarch was, by his ambassador, tempting the weak mind of Richard, with large and magnificent offers, to use the little influence he had over the army to prevail with them to declare for Charles Stewart. *Guthrie's Hist.* vol. III.

p. 1355.

† Mr. Hume, in his relation of this transaction, gives the following

after the overthrow of power in the Cromwell ^{Anno. 1659.} family, had secretly tendered an offer of his services to Charles Stewart, and on the news

following honorable testimony of the principles of the present government, and the conduct of the Parliament and their commissioners. “ The Parliament, whilst it preferred authority, instead of following the destructive politics of Cromwell, and lending assistance to the conquering Swede, embraced the prudent maxims of the Dutch commonwealth, and resolved, in conjunction with that state, to mediate by force of arms an accommodation between the northern powers. Montague was sent with a squadron to the Baltic, and carried with him Algernon Sydney, the famous Republican. Sydney found the Swedish monarch employed in the siege of Copenhagen, the capital of his enemy, and was highly pleased, that, with a Roman arrogance, he could check the progress of royal victories, and display in so signal a manner the superiority of Freedom above tyranny. With the highest indignation, the ambitious prince was obliged to submit to the imperious mediation of the two commonwealths. “ It is cruel, said he, that laws should be prescribed me by parricides and pedlars.” But his whole army was inclosed in an island, and might be starved by the combined forces of England and Holland. He was obliged, therefore, to quit his prey, when he had so nearly got possession of it; and having agreed to a pacification with Denmark, he soon after died.”

This animated description of Republican power and dignity (with an exception to the word “ arrogance”) is worthy the pen even of the immortal Milton, but is little compatible with the following malicious and unjust reflections which we meet with in the same writer, in the page almost immediately preceding these remarks: “ The bulk of the nation consisted of Royalists and Presbyterians, and to both these parties the dominion of the pretended Parliament had ever been to the last degree odious. When this Parliament was expelled by Cromwell, contempt had succeeded to hatred, and no reserve had been used in expressing the utmost derision against the impotent ambition of these usurpers. No man was so remote from party, so indifferent to public good, as not to feel the most ardent wishes for the dissolution of that tyranny, which, whether the civil or the military part of it be considered, was equally oppressive and ruinous to the nation.” *Hume’s Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. II. p. 97, 100.

Ann. 1659. of the rising in England, under the pretence of not being sufficiently supplied with stores and recruits, notwithstanding the earnest solicitation of the commissioners, left the negotiation to be solely enforced by the power of the Dutch and the authority of the Parliament's commissioners, and sailed home. To the great disappointment of Montague, the insurrection was suppressed before he reached the English coast; and though the commissioners had obtained information, that, whilst in the Baltic, several interviews had passed between him and an agent of Charles Stewart, and had sent a strong charge against him to the council of state, yet the present confused situation of the public affairs prevented the government from punishing his present delinquency, or taking measures to guard against his future treachery.

Factional
conduct of
the army.

Ludlow.

Lambert, in whose bosom the lust of empire raged with as much violence as it had ever done in the mind of Cromwell, and who, it was thought, was brought to assist that usurper in overturning the Republic on the promise of succession to supreme power, had waited in anxious expectation for the opportunity of playing the same game which had been played with such success in the year 1654. Fleetwood, a weak fanatic, whose mind, with those of the rest of the leading officers, had been corrupted by Cromwell's successful ambition, and who had something of his father-in-law's hypocrisy, but not a grain of his sagacity; who was on one side pestered with the reproaches of his wife's relations for having ruined the hopes of his brother Richard and destroyed the fortunes of the Cromwell family, and flattered on the other

other with being fixed in the independent command of the army, entered into Lambert's intrigues, and made a motion in the house for giving him a commission as major-general of the army. To this factious motion the house gave a soft negative, by declaring that they would appoint no more general officers; but at the same time voted him a present of a thousand pounds; to lieutenant Duckenfield two hundred; and among the rest of the army, officers and private soldiers, who had been instrumental in suppressing the insurrection, they divided the forfeited estate of Sir Thomas Middleton, to the amount of three thousand a-year.

Lambert employed in liberalities to his soldiers the present of a thousand pounds; and circulated among them a petition to the Parliament, in which they complained of being neglected, notwithstanding the recent services they had rendered the state; they desired also that Fleetwood, in the character of general, Lambert as major-general, Desborough as lieutenant-general of the horse, and Monk as major-general of the foot, should be appointed commanders in chief of the army; and, as a popular bait to the party, they pressed for the speedy punishment of those who had been concerned in the late insurrection; in which they desired the Parliament would set some signal mark of disfavor on those corporations who had abetted and countenanced the design of the insurgents, and that they would for the future so regulate corporations, that such persons, qualified according to the government of a well-constituted commonwealth, should be entrusted with the authority of magistracy in every of the several towns,

Baker's
Chronicle,
p. 655.

Ann. 1659. towns, that so the footsteps of monarchy might be rooted out ; they farther insisted, that no officer of the army should be dismissed from his command but by the authority of a court-martial ; and they proposed, that the government of the empire should be in a representative of the people and a select senate *.

To Haslerig, a warm man, Fleetwood had communicated the intelligence that a petition of such a nature had been sent to him as the sense of the army under Lambert, and that, after it had received the approbation of the council of officers at Wallingford-House, it was to be presented. Sir Arthur Haslerig lost no time in informing the Parliament of the factious conduct of the soldiery. Fleetwood, by order of the house, produced the paper containing the petition ; a warm debate ensued ; and a motion was made, that the matters contained in it were unreasonable and of dangerous consequence. According to Ludlow, it was moved that Lambert should be confined

*Journals.
Parl. Hist.*

* This proposal had been made by the Wallingford-House party to the leading members of Parliament, before the army had declared for the restoration of the Long Parliament ; but they were answered by Ludlow, that if by " a select senate" they meant a lasting power, co-ordinate with the authority of the peoples representative, and not chosen by the people, for himself he would not engage to promote its establishment, as it would prove a means to perpetuate differences, and make it necessary to keep up a standing force to support it. But if it was proposed to erect such an authority for a short time only, and in order to proceed with more vigor to an equal and just establishment of the commonwealth, it might be useful ; and the people would readily acquiesce, when it should be evident that it was designed for no other end than to prevent them from destroying themselves, and not to enslave them to any faction or party. *Ludlow*, p. 246, & seq.

in the Tower; but more lenient councils Ann. 1659. prevailing, the Parliament, after requiring lieutenant-general Fleetwood to exert his authority and influence to prevent any farther progress in the busines, came to a general resolution, that to have any more chief officers in the army than were already settled by the Parliament was needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the commonwealth.

As there were no real grievances existing among the soldiery, and as the whole intent of petitioning was either to force from the timidity of the Parliament an independant power, or to lay the grounds of a quarrel, so the moderate conduct of that assembly, instead of reclaiming, encreased the insolence of the army. Defborough, on the fifth of October, presented to the house a petition pretty much to the same purport as that which their former resolution had condemned *; but as it contained high

* The Parliament, before the presenting this petition, had passed the following orders concerning the payment of the soldiers and mariners, and concerning provision for maimed soldiers, orphans, and widows of such as were killed in their service. For the payment of the arrears of the land-forces they assigned the moiety of such money as should be raised by the sale or other disposition of the estates of delinquents, sequestered or to be sequestered on the late insurrection, and out of one moiety of money to be raised by the sale of forests and chaces, excepting New-Forest and the forest of Deane, with such timber and trees as should be thought fit to be reserved and made use of for the necessities of the commonwealth. To the marine forces they assigned the other moiety of the money to be raised on delinquents estates, with Somerset-House, and all other manors, parks, &c. contained in the several acts for the sale of the king's and queen's lands. For the maimed soldiers, orphans, and widows of such as were slain in their service, they ordered the committees constituted for the inspection into the public Treasury to pay them two months

Ann. 1659. expressions of fidelity to the Parliament, attachment to the principles of a Republican government, and the disclaiming all intentions of setting up any single person in supreme authority, the petitioners were thanked for their good expressions of affection and faithfulness to the Parliament and commonwealth; and told, that the house had already taken into consideration the relief of the poor widows, orphans, and maimed soldiers, to whom pensions had been formerly allowed, with a way for satisfaction of the arrears due to the army; would also endeavor to bring the same speedily to effect; and that the other matters of their petition were appointed to be taken into consideration on the next Saturday.

The Parliament were as good as their promise; the proposals of the army were debated with great candor, and such resolutions passed, as suited with justice, equity, and a proper regard to the dignity and authority of the civil power; but on the publishing the army's petition by Lambert, and on information that seditious practices were still carrying on in the meetings of the officers, they came to the following bold and spirited resolutions. That the several commissions of colonel John Lambert, colonel John Desborough, colonel James Berry, colonel Thomas Kelsey, colonel Richard Ashfield, colonel Ralph Cobbett, major Richard

Spirited re-
solutions of
Parliament.

months pay, and to take care to put such of their children apprentices as were of proper age. The other moiety to be raised by the sale of the forest-lands, was to be employed towards the payment of those debts which had been contracted in the beginning of the civil war. *Baker's Chronicle*, p. 656, & seq.

Creed,

Creed, colonel William Packer, and colonel ^{Ann. 1659.} Robert Barrow *, shall be and are hereby made void and null; and that the command of the army shall be vested in the following commissioners; Fleetwood, Ludlow, Monk, Haslerig, Walton, Morley, and Overton. A bill was immediately drawn and passed, to the purport of the last resolution; and, to leave the army without any resource should they attempt the desperate act of destroying the government, a bill was at the same time passed, declaring it high-treason to raise or collect money on

* The particular crime for which these officers were cashiered was signing a circular letter, as a committee from the council of officers, to the detached parties of the army, to persuade them to join in the petition to Parliament. The following censures, which spake the sense of a great number of the inferior officers on the seditious practices of their commanders, were sent by captain Nedham to general Fleetwood. "It seems strange to me, that this army, who could subject themselves and their commissions to the lusts of the late single person, to be laid aside by the pleasure of him who was but a servant of themselves, should now impose and limit the supreme authority of the nation. I never expect that injustice from a Parliament which I have seen practised by court-martials; witness, the cruel imprisonment and cashiering some faithful officers, only for mentioning the intolerable pride and luxury of the late court; insomuch as I heard some of those that sat as judges confess they were actuated by fear against their own right. I say again, I never heard of any such thing done by Parliament. My lord, I hope we are all sensible that the Parliament have not often used their power in this case, as from thence comes a great part of our miseries; for had they timely clipped the wings of their old general, doubtless he had never created an interest to destroy the authority by which he was raised, nor had the nation known the confusion and misery it has since tasted; nay, I may say, this army had never been tempted to such apostacy as hath defiled our consciences before God and our reputations to the world." *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. VII. p. 754.

Ann. 1659. any pretence whatever without the consent of Parliament.

Interruption
of the Par-
liament.

This was a wise and salutary precaution; but the mutinous officers had gone too far to retreat. On the intelligence of what had passed, Lambert assembled his troops, forced the guard which the council of state had appointed to secure the avenues leading to the house, blocked up the passages with horse and foot, obliged the speaker and several other members who attempted to pass through them to turn back; and thus, by another outrage on the Parliament, in whose disgrace were centered all the hopes of the Royalists and the fears of the Republicans, plunged the friends of their country into a state of despair, and raised the drooping spirits of a party, against whom they had recently avowed the bitterest enmity, and who had the multiplied penalties of confiscation, banishment, and death to apprehend, on account of their obstinate malignancy and repeated transgressions *.

Ludlow.

The vigilant and sagacious Ludlow, whom the Parliament had sent over to Ireland in the character of commander in chief of their Irish forces, had made incredible dispatch in the establishing their interest and authority on a proper footing in that island †. A consider-

* The Parliament had passed an act for the sequestering the estates of persons concerned in the late rebellion. They were censured for the lenity of their conduct by Lambert and the factious officers, who threatened the offenders with the additional penalties of banishment and death. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXI. p. 447.

† Ludlow tells us, that, during the short time he was in Ireland, he had delivered out new commissions to the officers, had disposed of several commands that were either vacant by the refusal of some to take the engagement enjoined by the Parliament,

able body of troops he had sent over to assist the government in suppressing the insurrection of the Royalists; and had not only prevented the army from abetting the factious petition of their brethren in England, but had prevailed with them to unite in a dutiful address. On hearing that the dissensions between the civil and military power still continued, he left the care of the Irish army to colonel Jones, who was one of the Parliament's commissioners for the administration of the civil affairs in Ireland, and had been one of the late king's judges, and hastened home *, in hope that by

ment, or in the hands of persons disaffected to the government; that he had furnished the garrisons with provisions and ammunition for three months, and settled a militia in each county as considerable as the army itself, consisting for the most part of men who had had experience, and had readily engaged to be true and faithful to the commonwealth. But this work was attended with great difficulties: "I found, says Ludlow, divers of the officers guilty of habitual immoralities, many of them accustomed to detain the pay of the private soldiers, and most of them debauched in their principles by the late usurpation of the Cromwells. I endeavored to clear the army of such as were most guilty, and thereby hoped to reform the rest. I appointed fit persons to enquire into the principles and practices of the private soldiers, and, upon full information, dismissed such as appeared incorrigible, and placed others in their room of whom we had better hopes, together with as many of those as we could find who had been cashiered on account of their affection to the Parliament." On the pretence of reducing the charge of the military establishment in Ireland, an instruction was sent from Cromwell to disband all the malecontents; *i. e.* all those who had an affection for the commonwealth. Among the troops which were to be disbanded, Ludlow's regiment was particularly marked. *Ludlow, p. 265, & seq.* *Warner, p. 557.*

* "Finding, says Ludlow, that the officers of Ireland, the committee of nominations, the council of state, and the Parliament, all concurred to design me for the post of commander in chief of the Irish forces, I thought myself obliged

Ann. 1659. his interest with the contending parties, and arguments framed on the consideration of mutual safety, he should prevent a catastrophe which threatened ruin to the public cause, and all those who had been engaged in its support. Whilst in the Bay of Beaumaris, he was informed of the violence which the army had offered to the Parliament; and after hesitating on the expediency of returning to his command in Ireland, or pursuing his journey to England, he determined in favor of the latter, to effect if possible a reconciliation; the only saving hope which the situation of affairs afforded.

in duty to accept it, though I was resolved not to suffer myself to be banished thither, as I had been formerly by Oliver Cromwell, but to return to England as soon as I had done what was necessary to the security of that country, to contribute my endeavors towards the settlement of a just and equitable government at home, and to prevent those mischiefs which I perceived the ambition of the army was bringing upon us. Having opened myself freely concerning these particulars to Sir Henry Vane, it was obtained, that the Parliament passed an order that when I had put the affairs in Ireland into a posture of security I should have liberty to return to England."

Ludlow, p. 255.

C H A P. IX.

The army constitute a committee of safety for the administration of the government.—Monk and the Northern forces declare for the Parliament.—Monk deludes the military leaders with a sham treaty.—Difficulties of the military leaders.—Tumults.—Revolt of the troops.—Re-establishment of the Parliament.—Transactions of Parliament.—Monk marches his army to London.—Seditious conduct of the city.—Monk is employed by the council of state to chastise the city.—Treachery of Monk.—He joins with the citizens.—His insolence to the Parliament.—Assists the secluded members in the resumption of their seats.—Transactions of Parliament.—Dissimulation of Monk.—The troops entertain a suspicion of his conduct.—Apprehensions of the Republicans.—Transactions of Parliament.—The Parliament pass an act to dissolve themselves, and appoint the meeting of a new representative.

WHATEVER ^{Ann. 1659.} might be the ambitious views of individuals, the army in general disclaimed the intention of vesting the government in single hands. After appointing Fleetwood their commander in chief, and Lambert major-general of the forces in England and Scotland; after suspending from their commands all those who, in defence of the authority of the Parliament, had opposed their violence, and refused to sign an engagement to act under

Ann. 1659. the present authority *, they established a committee for the nominating military officers †; and, by the advice of a council of ten chosen of safety for to consider on means to deliver the country from the anarchy into which their factious conduct had involved it ‡, they constituted a committee of safety §, seven only of which were officers, for the administration of the public affairs, and for the preparing a form for the future government of the empire on the foundations of a free state.

It was an astonishing infatuation in the military leaders, to expect from a similar conduct, a success equal to that which had attended the fortunes of the usurper Cromwell; who was not only assured of the acquiescence of the armies of Scotland and Ireland, by the personal attachment and dependance of Fleetwood and

* Among the officers suspended from their commands were colonels Okey, Morley, Alured, and lieutenant-colonel Farley. *Ludlow*, p. 280.

† Committee for nominating officers: Fleetwood, Lambert, Vane, Desborough, Ludlow, Berry.

‡ In the council of state, which was composed of men of both parties, the officers carried it, that there should be a mutual concurrence in ordering the troops to their respective quarters, and that the measures to carry on the government should be referred to Fleetwood, Lambert, Whitlock, Vane, Desborough, Harrington, Sydenham, Berry, Salway, Warrington.

§ The committee of safety; Sir Archibald Johnston of Warrestown (president), Fleetwood (the commander in chief of the army), major-general Lambert, commissary-general Desborough, lieutenant-general Ludlow, lord-commissioner Whitlock, serjeant Steel, Sir Henry Vane, Sir James Harrington, Walter Strickland, Henry Lawrence, Cornelius Holland, Humphry Salway, — Thomson, Esqrs. colonels Sydenham, Hewson, Berry, Clark, Lilbourn, Bennett, alderman Ireton, alderman Tichburn.

Monk,

Monk, but, from the economy of the preceding administration, found in the public treasury a sum more than adequate to all the necessities of his government. The circumstances which attended the present usurpation were diametrically opposite to these advantages. Cromwell had left the public finances in great disorder; and, without force, it would be impossible to levy taxes on the people, against the law of Parliament. By the influence and assiduity of Ludlow, the affections of the Irish army leaned towards this assembly; and a jealousy subsisted between the military sovereigns and Monk, whose power was retrenched by the appointments of Fleetwood and Lambert.

On the first commencement of the civil commotions, Monk, the younger brother of a needy family in Devonshire, whose vicious idle turn of mind naturally inclined him to seek preferment in the patronage of an individual, enlisted under the banners of royalty; but the courtiers mistaking a heavy phlegmatic disposition for moderation of temper, he was, after serving some time in Ireland against the Irish rebels, suspended from his command of colonel of a regiment, on the accusation of want of zeal for the cause. The servility of Monk's temper was proof against all indignity: On his earnest desire, he was permitted to endeavor the retrieving his reputation by serving as a volunteer; and, in this situation, was taken prisoner by Fairfax, the day after he had joined the king's forces at Nantwich. Cromwell could easily discern those qualities which render individuals the proper tools to forward the mischievous purposes

Gumble's
Life of
Monk, 8vo
ed. 1671.

Clar. Hist.
vol. III.

P. 547.

Ann. 1653. purposes of more aspiring geniuses. Monk, after suffering two years imprisonment, was by Cromwell's influence employed in the Parliament's army; and from this period devoted himself entirely to the fortunes of his patron; who, from one preferment to another, at length placed him at the head of the Scotch army, as a man he could thoroughly rely on, to coerce that abject system of slavery he had imposed on the Scots. Whilst the Cromwells maintained their power, Monk, from the docile viciousness of his temper, was certain of preserving that importance which virtue and abilities can alone procure in a free state. Such consideration secured his fidelity; but when, on the disposition of the military commands, he found himself in a manner totally excluded from any share in the new system of government *, he began to rouse from the natural lethargy of his temper, and embraced the first opportunity to recover the consequence he had lost by the deposition of Richard. On the first rumor of a jarring between the army and the Parliament, notwithstanding he had been so disgusted with several resolutions of this assembly (relative to the new-modelling his army in a manner which should

Monk and the Northern forces declare for the Parliament.

* Monk was always regarded by the Republicans as a man of very corrupt principles in morals, government, and religion. He was very near being sent to the Tower on suspicion of a correspondence with the Irish rebels; and this Parliament, on the motive of jealousy, had passed an order for the new-modelling his army; and would undoubtedly have deprived him of any command which could have enabled him to have acted against the commonwealth, had they not been interrupted in the exercise of their power by the army, *Gumble's Life of Monk.*

render

render it properly subordinate to the civil authority) as to offer to resign his commission, he exclaimed loudly against the factious conduct of the military, professed his inviolable attachment to the Parliament, and, in contradiction to every principle by which he had hitherto directed his conduct, testified in his declarations a flaming zeal for the re-establishment of a commonwealth *.

The opposition of a man who governed a nation which had ever shewn a rancorous aversion to all those principles of Liberty, civil and religious, on which the party in power pretended to direct their conduct, was too formidable a circumstance not to command the serious attention of the committee of safety. Colonel Cobbett was sent to Scotland, on the pretence of giving Monk satisfaction on the proceedings of the military leaders, but, in reality, to form such a party in the army under his command as should enable him to put their general under an arrest. From Clarges, his brother-in-law (formerly an obscure apothecary, but who had been raised to office by the Cromwells, a man thoroughly devoted to the principles of royalty) Monk was informed of the secret instructions

* In three letters which Monk had written to Fleetwood, Lambert, and Lenthall (the speaker), wherein he condemns the conduct of the army, and professes a resolution to stand by the Parliament and prosecute their just cause (a cause which God, he said, had particularly owned) to the last drop of his blood, he calls the Deity to witness, that he has no farther ends than the establishing parliamentary authority, the settling the nation in a free commonwealth, and the defence of godliness and godly men, though of different judgments. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXII. p. 4, & seq.

which

Ann. 1659. which had been given to Cobbett; and, turning the policy of the committee of safety against themselves, took measures to put Cobbett himself under an arrest, and to cashier those officers whose principles and inclinations he most strongly suspected * of adhering to the interests of their brethren in London †. In consequence of this open declaration of war against the military sovereigns, and on assurances from the Parliament's party that a diversion would be procured in his favor, Monk, after having taken means to secure the town of Berwick, summoned together an assembly of the chief men in Scotland; and declared to them, in warm terms, an intention to march troops into England to defend the privileges of the Parliament against the usurpations of the army: He also demanded a sufficient sum of money to assist him in his undertaking; and, what is very remarkable, obtained his demand by the influence of the rankest Royalists among the Scotch nation.

* The manner in which he accomplished this, was the sending expresses to invite those officers who were in strong citadels, or at the head of regiments, to meet at Edinburgh, to consult with him on matters of importance. In the way they were secured and brought in custody to Edinburgh; and, if found to be averse to Monk's designs, their confinement was continued, and their commands disposed of. But what facilitated most the accomplishment of his views was, the indiscreet surrender of their commissions by the greater part of those officers well affected to the public cause. *Gumble's Life of Monk*, p. 134, & seq.

† It was on the authority of the act passed immediately before the last interruption of the Parliament, constituting Monk one of the seven generals to govern the army, that he thus took upon him to regulate his forces according to his pleasure.

On the intelligence of these warlike preparations of Monk in Scotland, Lambert was dispatched with an army of four thousand foot and three thousand five hundred horse towards the North; and Monk, who, by the diligence of colonel Lilbourn, had missed the securing Newcastle, who had not yet properly modelled his army, who was unable to assemble a sufficient body of men to cope with Lambert *, and who waited the performances of those promises which had been made him by the leaders of the Parliament party, sent Wilks, Cloberry, and Knight, to London, with large professions of his inclinations to peace, and with offers of terms for an accommodation. The committee of safety fell into the snare: The following articles of treaty, proposed by Monk's commissioners, That the government should be settled in a commonwealth, without a king, single person, or house of peers; that there should be a general indemnity for what was passed; that Monk should have part of the sum of money which had been appointed to pay the forces; that he should be one of the committee for nominating military officers; that a representative of the people should be called with all convenient speed, and to that end commissioners should be appointed by the military power of the three nations, to consider and agree upon the qualifications for election, were accepted,

Monk de-
ludes the
military
leaders with a
sham treaty.

* Even after all the pains which Monk had taken to new-model the army, in his march to England his soldiers were continually running away to Lambert. "In this, says Price, Lambert had much the advantage of us; for we had no revolters from them till their money and hopes were spent." *Price's History of the Restoration*, 8vo ed. 1680.

and

Ann. 1659. and the day fixed for the meeting of a general council of officers at Whitehall.

Difficulties of the military leaders. Whilst Monk was thus amusing the military sovereigns ; every day, nay every hour, produced fresh dangers and difficulties, and rendered their government more precarious.

Parl. Hist. Ludlow. In vain they had rescinded the votes relative to the non-payment of taxes without the concurrence of Parliament ; the people refused to submit to their ordinances, and thus reduced their army to great necessities ; in vain did the military leaders represent to the common-council,

that the bottom of Monk's design was to restore Charles Stewart upon a new civil war ; in vain did they exhort them against co-operating with the intent of bringing in an enemy they had highly incensed, who, though they might care for them for the present, and make them the most solemn promises of future kindness, yet would never forget the aid and support they had afforded the Parliament against them, but take a time to be revenged, and force the nation under a yoke of servitude which neither themselves nor posterity would be able to bear ; the

Tumults. Cavaliers and Presbyterians raised tumults in the city, which were with difficulty suppressed at the expence of blood. Whilst Lambert was assembling his forces at Newcastle, Haslerig and Morley, by the connivance of the garrison, took possession of Portsmouth, declared for the Parliament, and were seconded in this declaration by admiral Lawson, who sailed up the river to awe the capital *. Haslerig and Morley, who

* The Parliament, immediately on their re-meeting after their first interruption, gave Lawson this command in the navy,

had been reinforced by the junction of a party ^{Ann. 1659.} sent by the committee of safety to suppress them, on the news of this important event, left Portsmouth and advanced to London. In this critical juncture, those regiments which were left to guard the city, and which had been reduced to great difficulties for the want of pay, returned to their allegiance to the Parliament; whose authority was likewise acknowledged by Desborough's regiment, which had been sent back by Lambert to support his friends in the capital. Against this general desertion, it was in vain to contend; the military leaders, no longer able to support their usurpation, submitted to the present necessity †; and the members of Par-

Revolt of
the troops.

Re-estab-
lishment of
the Parlia-
ment.

navy, to counteract the malignity of Montague, of whose principles they had entertained suspicion.

† Fleetwood, a weak unsteady enthusiast, was of all men the least capable to support, against such difficulties, the dangerous power he had assumed. When perplexed with the discontent and murmurs of the soldiers, and upbraided by the friends of the Parliament with the ruin of his country, and the misery he had brought upon the army, he would fall down on his knees in prayer; and, on the exhortation of his friends to action, he would answer, that God had spit in his face, and would not hear him. In this anxious state of his mind, Whitlock, a sanguine but corrupt man, who had served under the Parliament before the year 1648, and under all the different governments which took place after the King's death, advised Fleetwood to use the little power he had left to bring Charles Stewart in on conditions; since it was evident that Monk's design, who would delude Haslerig and his party, was to restore him without terms, whereby the lives and fortunes of those who had acted against the family would lie at his mercy. The two following alternatives were likewise proposed by Whitlock: That Fleetwood should draw together all his forces, and see what strength he could make against the opposition; and, if found weak, to take possession of the Tower, and offer to join with the city in declaring for a free Parliament. Fleetwood was at first inclined to follow the advice of sending

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Ann. 16, 9. liament, in the midst of loud acclamations of applause and reiterated vows of continued fidelity, were reconducted to their house by the same officers and the same men, who, a few months before, had interrupted their sitting with so much undeserved malice and insolence. Lenthall, the speaker, acting as commander in chief of the army, turned out of the Tower the lieutenant, who had been placed there by Fleetwood, put Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper in his room, and ordered a general rendezvous of the army, who, laying totally aside their former perverseness, with great alacrity paid him all the military honors due to the office he had assumed.

The demon of discord, the eternal changes of government, and revolutions in power, had hitherto prevented the settlement of the government on the basis of a free commonwealth, and the reformation of the law; blessings impatiently expected by the honest part of the nation, and which, notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers attending their respective administrations, had been the subject of the very particular attention both of the Parliament, and the committee of safety *.

to Charles Stewart; but had too much honor to take any of these measures without consulting with the rest of his party, who disapproving of every part of the counsel, the affair dropped. *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. VII. *Whitlock's Memorials*.

* The following forms of government were debated in the Parliament and the committee of safety: That the supreme authority should be vested in an assembly chosen by the people, and that a council of state, elected by that assembly, should be vested with the executive power, which power was to determine on the meeting of the succeeding representative assembly, to whom it was to be accountable. A representative of the people constantly sitting, but changed by perpetual rotation, joined

Whilst the last unexpected revolution was ^{Ann. 1659.} effecting, Lambert, who had been weak enough,

joined to a select number of men who should have a negative in things wherein the essentials of the government were concerned. Two councils chosen by the people, the one to consist of three hundred, and to have the power only of debating and proposing laws; the other to consist of one thousand, and to have the power to resolve and determine. This last form of government bids fairer for the preserving the true interests of society than any which has ever yet been practised; but as the Republicans, and in particular Sir Henry Vane and Ludlow, insisted that the reformation of the law, and a full toleration in the point of religion, should be taken into any new plan of government, they were continually thwarted and opposed by the lawyers and the clergy; and this opposition, with the interruptions of the Parliament, and the short-lived power of the committee of safety, rendered abortive the efforts of the patriots to settle this last, or any other government, on commonwealth foundations.

3.

Ludlow gives the following account of some of the intrigues of the lawyers to prevent reformation. "The Parliament had manifested, before the last interruption, an inclination to ease the people of the payment of tythes, and in lieu of them to appropriate a certain sum of money for the maintenance and encouragement of the ministry, to be distributed in a more equal manner than had been formerly practised; hoping, if this could be effected, that the clergy would no longer have any other interest to promote than that of the whole commonwealth, nor be a distinct party from the people. It was well known also to the lawyers, that they still retained the desire of regulating the practice of the law, and relieving the people in that particular. These two parties, therefore, being equally concerned to perpetuate the abuses practised among them, became equally sensible of the common danger; and, in order to prevent it, Whitlock and St. John, for the lawyers, with Dr. Owen and Mr. Nye, for the clergy, who at this time had frequent meetings in the Savoy, entered into a private treaty with the Wallingford-House-party, and offered to raise an hundred thousand pounds for the use of the army, upon assurance of being protected by them in the full enjoyment of their respective advantages and profits; with this farther condition, that they should oblige themselves not to hearken any longer to the advice of Sir Henry Vane. Thus, says Ludlow, we were left destitute of hope, to see any other reformation of

Ann. 1659. notwithstanding that Monk had refused to ratify the articles of the former treaty, and had put his commissioner Wilks under an arrest, for exceeding (as he pretended) his instructions to enter into a new negotiation at Newcastle, found himself in a very desperate situation; his soldiers daily deserted; and lord Fairfax had raised forces, and lay behind at York. Monk, seizing the favorable opportunity, had passed the Tweed, and with hasty marches was advancing towards him, and, on the re-meeting of Parliament, their orders to his troops to separate and retire to their respective quarters so entirely stripped him of his army, that himself was obliged to return to London.

Transactions of Parliament.

The first act of the Parliament on their assembling, was to appoint the colonels Popham, Thompson, Markham, Okey, Alured, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and Mr. Scot, to take upon them the care of the army and the peace of the public. They passed votes for the payment of the soldiers; committed the government of the Tower to Cooper, Scot, and Barners; discharged from their confinement those who had been thrown into prison by

the clergy than what themselves would consent to, any other regulation of the law than the chief justice and the commissioners of the great-seal would permit, or any more liberty for tender consciences than what the lord Warreton would please to grant.' This is Ludlow's account of the intrigues of the lawyers and the clergy to obstruct reformation in the law and church; and it is in some measure confirmed by Whitlock; who, in excuse for his acting with the committee of safety, says, that he undertook the employment to prevent those alterations in the law, ministry, and government, which he knew were intended to be effected by Sir Henry Vane and others, and on the encouragement which divers of the committee gave to co-operate with him to these ends. *Ludlow. Whitlock's Memorials.*

the

the committee of safety; and ordered all the regiments of horse and foot in the Northern counties to repair to such quarters as should be appointed by the commissioners for the management of the army, and observe such orders as they should from time to time receive from the said commissioners. With a proviso in favor of general Monk, they passed a vote for the disbanding all forces which had been raised without the authority of the present Parliament, and against the raising for the future any forces without such authority; and voted letters of thanks and acknowledgments to general Monk, vice-admiral Lawson, the lord Fairfax and his party, and the commissioners at Portsmouth, for their fidelity and good service. On the twenty-ninth of December, they confirmed all the removals and commissions which Monk had made in his army, and, on the thirty-first of the same month, they appointed a council of state *, and resolved upon an oath to be taken by the council of state and members of Parliament, solemnly renouncing all the Stewart family, with every single person who should pretend to the government, and promising fidelity to the Parliament and commonwealth. To those officers and soldiers engaged in the late defection and rebellion, the Parliament, with an exception of wilful murder,

* Council of state: Lord Fairfax, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir James Harrington, Sir Thomas Widdrington, general Monk, vice-admiral Lawson, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, colonels Morley, Walton, White, Thompson, Wallop, and Fag, Scot, Love, St. John, Weaver, Reynolds, Dixwell, Nevill, Corbet, Challoner, Martin, Say, Robinson, Barners, Tyrrell, Bethel, Rolles, alderman Foot, alderman Love.

Ann. 1659. gave pardon and indemnity for life and estate: They appointed a committee to state the qualifications of members to serve in Parliament, and another to bring in a bill for the sale of the estates of those who had risen with Sir George Booth; enjoined the council of state to remand them to prison, and to enquire into the means, by which during the late commotions they had been set at liberty.

Thus far, the Parliament had taken very commendable measures for the justifying an authority under which the nation could alone expect the peaceable and permanent establishment of a free government; but, transported with a lively sense of the indignities they had received, beyond the bounds of their former sagacity and moderation, they were so indiscretely vindictive, as to expel from their assembly and confine to his house in the country, their illustrious and useful member Sir Henry Vane; for having condescended to act with the committee of safety, on the laudable intention of directing their counsels towards the settling the government on an equitable and equal plan. Colonel Salway was expelled the house, and committed to the Tower; and also a vote of confinement and expulsion to those who were members passed on the following officers: Lambert, Desborough, Ashfield, Berry, Kelsey, Cobbett, Barrow, Packer, and Bread.

The Parliament, whilst they were dealing out chastisements on one hand to their offending servants, were as liberal in their favors to those who had acted, or pretended to have acted, in the support of their authority. They settled on vice-admiral Lawson and his heirs an estate of

five hundred pounds a-year; on Monk (who, ^{Ann. 1659.} in reality, had done nothing towards their re-establishment) one thousand *; and, in a declaration to the people at large, after endeavoring to exculpate themselves from the calumnies which had been injuriously flung upon them, after endeavoring to reconcile the nation to the trifling inconveniences they must necessarily suffer, till the government could be properly formed and established, they assured the people, that all proceedings touching their lives and properties should be according to the laws of the land; that the Parliament would not meddle in the ordinary administration of justice; that they would make effectual provision for the encouragement of a learned and gospel ministry through all the three nations; that they would continue tythes, settle tenths and first-fruits upon them, and farther augment their salaries by the impropriations of the late king, bishops, deans and chapters, and delinquents not compounded for; and they renewed their protestations, that they would perfect the beginnings they had already made, towards the settling a commonwealth on equal principles, without a King, single person, or house of Lords.

During these transactions, Monk, without any previous leave or invitation, on the plausible pretext of defending the Parliament against any

^{Monk}
^{marches his}
^{army to}
^{London.}

* The Parliament were so liberal in their favors to Monk, as to extend them to one Gumble, his chaplain, whom he had sent with a message to the house, relating to the persons fit to be judges in Scotland. The house ordered Gumble one hundred pounds, and resolved to take him into farther consideration for preferment, as convenience should offer. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXII, p. 45.

Ann. 1659. refractory spirit which might yet exist in the soldiery, was advancing towards the capital at the head of six thousand men *. At York he had a conference with the lord Fairfax, who, since he married his daughter to the duke of Buckingham, had maintained a correspondence with Charles Stewart; and, under the cover of opposing the late usurpation, had assembled a body of Presbyterians, with an intention of re-establishing monarchical government, and restoring to their former power and splendor the expelled family. If pique, prejudice, whim, disappointment, with the influence of family connection, had instigated Fairfax to blast his well-earned laurels, and deprive his country of the whole fruit of his former victories, the more crafty Monk was determined to set his treachery at an higher price than the mere gratification of such wayward passions. He declared so strongly against the acting under or in support of any other than the present authority, that the lord Fairfax, who took him to be in earnest, was glad to slink off without having publicly declared any intention, which could subject him to the censure of the government. As the Parliament had justly entertained a strong suspicion of the lord

* The Parliament had the complaisance to pass an act to justify this march of Monk into England, who kept up their good humor by submissive letters, in which he assured them, that they should find such an absolute obedience in him, that he would be more ready to return his commission than to receive it; and in which he told them, they could never doubt of his persevering in the good principles he had declared for, and that he would have been happy, if the Lord had frowned on him, to have suffered in their righteous cause. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXII. p. 41.

Fairfax's

Price's Hist.
of the Resto-
ration.

Clar. Hist.

Fairfax's conduct, they were very uneasy at the ^{Ann. 1659.} interview between the two generals. They wrote a pressing letter to Monk to repair to London, and sent Scot and Robinson, with whom, during the late confusions, he had kept a constant correspondence, as their commissioners, on the pretence of complimenting him with their attendance on the road, but with a view of keeping him steady to their interest, to prevent his communication with the malignant and discontented parties, and to sound (if possible) his principles, and the bottom of his intentions. The taciturnity of Monk's disposition, in some measure, guarded him from the keenest observer. His desire of talking never tempted him to betray what he wished to conceal. As the commands of the Parliament were perfectly agreeable to his views, he obeyed them without hesitation; often contented himself with assenting by a nod, or some other significant gesture, to the answers their commissioners gave the factious petitions he met with on the road; and, when he did open himself, it was in terms of implicit obedience to the Parliament, and in high expressions of zeal for the establishment of a free commonwealth *; which, in a letter he wrote to several Devonshire gentlemen who had addressed Lenthall the speaker on the

* Monk carried himself with such hypocritical humility to the Parliament's commissioners, directing his troops to make a stand when their coach passed, and to express all civilities to them as their commanders in chief, that they were fully satisfied of the sincerity of his intentions, and sent relations to their party in the Parliament of the excellent discipline and obedience of the Northern forces. *Gumble's Life of Monk*, p. 226.

Ann. 1659. subject of recalling the members secluded in 1648, he extolled as the only government which could preserve the public peace, warned them of the confusions those members would bring into the public counsels, many of whom having asserted the monarchical interest, together with the abolition of all laws made since their seclusion, and advised them to acquiesce in the proceedings of the present Parliament, who had resolved to fill up their house, determine their sitting, and prepare a way for future successions of Parliaments, if they were not obstructed in this arduous task by the impatience of the people *.

Though these reiterated professions were very grateful to the Parliament, yet there were some material parts of Monk's conduct which tended considerably to weaken that full confidence they would otherwise have inspired. Those, to whom whilst in Scotland, he had given commissions in the room of the cashiered officers, were men of very suspected principles ; and, during his march, he continued to new-model his army, by removing officers whose affections were well known to be strongly attached to the cause of

Ludlow,
P. 303.

* According to the authority of Price, a domestic chaplain of Monk, this letter was written by the general to satisfy his army, which, notwithstanding the introduction of men of contrary principles among them, were so averse to the restoration of the banished family, that the only exception they proposed in their obedience to the Parliament was, that it should not act to the bringing-in of Charles Stewart. The argument used by Monk against the subscribing to this exception, was, that in so doing they should fall into the same error as the English army, and lay in a claim to be judges and masters of the Parliament's actions ; for when that assembly did any thing which was disliked, it was but to suggest that the doing such thing tended to the bringing-in Charles Stewart.

Liberty

Liberty and reformation, and by placing in ^{Ann. 1659.} their room individuals of ruined fortunes, and profligate lives, and who on several occasions had declared an opposition to those principles which he pretended so warmly to espouse *. When he arrived at St. Albans, on the pretence ^{Ann. 1660.} that the mutinous spirit of those soldiers who had offered violence to the Parliament, might infect his army, he sent a message to the house for their removal before he entered the capital; and such was the diffidence the Parliament entertained of their late offending yet penitent army, such the disunion which the recent confusions had introduced among their small body, such the fatal consequence of disuniting from their counsels the wise and experienced Vane, whose keen sagacity could pierce through a much darker cloud of dissimulation, than veiled the treacherous Monk, that this message, which ought for its insolence to have been answered with a sharp rebuke, was basely complied with in every particular. Besides when the soldiers, who in general wished well to the Parliament, and who had refused the solicitations of the citizens to join with them, for what they termed

* Ludlow says, that in the Irish brigade, which had deserted Lambert and joined his army, he discharged from their employments divers officers who had been the most zealous for asserting the civil authority, and filled their places with such as had been dismissed for their vicious lives and corrupt principles. On this contradictory conduct of Monk, colonel Martin resembled him to one who, being sent for to make a suit of cloaths, brought with him a budget full of carpenters tools, and being told that such implements were not at all fit for the work he was desired to do, answered, " It matters not; I will do your work well enough, I warrant you." *Ludlow, p. 309.*

Anno. 1660. a free representative, which was well understood to mean no other, than that the Cavaliers and Presbyterians should bear the rule *, began to mutiny on the gross affront put upon them by Monk, the Parliament, in a terror lest they should be again interrupted, sent pressing messages to hasten his march. But the disturbance which the mortifying commands of the Parliament occasioned amongst the soldiers, was of short duration: By the earnest persuasion of their officers, they quietly returned to the country quarters which were assigned them; and Monk, in a kind of triumph, on the fourth of February, entered the capital at the head of his army †.

On his introduction to the house, Lenthall, in a flourishing speech, returned him thanks, in the name of that assembly, for the eminent services he had rendered to his country; and was answered in the common strain, that the services which Monk had been enabled to perform, were no more than his duty, and merited not such praises as those with which the Parliament were pleased to honor him. The rest of the speech, was similar to the contradictions which had been observed in his conduct. He assured the Parliament, of an implicit obedience

* Ludlow writes, that the Cavaliers and Presbyterians of the city, hoping to improve the mutiny of the soldiers to their advantage, invited them to join with their party, gave them money, promised them their whole arrears and constant pay; but the soldiers, after taking their money, threatened to fire on them if they did not depart, and declared their resolution to continue faithful to the Parliament. *Ludlow*, p. 312.

† The Parliament complimented him with the royal apartments at Whitehall. *Gumble's Life of Monk*, p. 228.

to their commands, yet assumed a kind of authority in dictating to them the rule of their future government. Having himself refused the oath of abjuration, he spoke warmly against the imposing engagements, undertook for the fidelity of the Irish army, which had been remodelled on a plan quite opposite to that effected by Ludlow, and desired that the fanatic party, whom he put on a level with the Cavaliers, should be removed from all places of trust.

The city of London (though in a public correspondence which had passed between them and Monk whilst in the North, they had been very warm in their professions of adherence to the Parliament), encouraged by that uncertainty which for some time had been obvious in his conduct, but particularly by the opinion the Cavaliers and Presbyterians had entertained of his designs, had had the insolence to send a deputation to him at St. Albans to solicit his assistance towards the attainment of another Parliament; and now, encouraged by the absence of those troops who had hitherto curbed their petulant headstrong humors, the common-council, in the true style of government, took upon them to receive petitions from the adjacent counties, touching the payment of taxes and other public affairs, gave the petitioners thanks for their good affections, and passed a vote, that they would pay no taxes but such as should be imposed by a free Parliament. A resolution of this nature was striking at the very existence of the present government; it therefore required an immediate and severe chastisement. The council of state assembled, Monk was admitted

*Seditious
conduct of
the city.*

*Parl. Hist.
vol. XXII.
p. 48.*

*Ludlow,
Price,*

Ann. 1660. admitted to the consultation *, and when it
 Monk is
 employed to was moved, that the common-council should
 chastise the be forbidden to sit, that a few of the most
 city. active should be seized, the portcullices wedged,
 and the posts with their chains pulled up ; Monk
 not only chearfully undertook to perform the
 service, but added, that, if more was not done,
 such punishment would serve for nothing, be-
 cause the damage might be soon repaired ; that
 the disaffection of the city was so great that
 they would never be quiet till some of them
 were hanged ; and that it was absolutely
 necessary for the present to break in pieces their
 gates and portcullices, to burn their posts, and
 carry away their chains to the Tower. The
 council of state, well pleased with the zeal
 which Monk expressed on the execution of this
 unpopular business, gave him orders to march
 with his forces early the next morning into the
 city, before the occasion of his errand should
 be known. To the great terror and astonish-

* The Parliament had nominated Monk to be one of the
 council of state ; but having refused to take the engagement
 against the pretensions of Charles Stewart, or any single person,
 he was not permitted to act in the capacity of his office. It
 was not agreeable to the general tenor of Monk's conduct,
 that he should expose his principles to the jealous eye of the
 Parliament by this frivolous scruple ; and, if it can be supposed,
 that a man of such duplicity could have any moral objection
 to the breaking an oath, Monk was already bound by three
 solemn oaths against what he was intent upon executing ; viz.
 The solemn league and covenant ; the oath enjoined in the
 year 1649 to be true and faithful to the commonwealth of
 England, without a King, single person, or house of Lords ;
 and an oath to the same purport as this which he now refused,
 enjoined on the third of September, before the last interruption
 of the Parliament. *Wellwood's Memoirs, Appendix, p. 366.*

ment

ment of the citizens, who had been encouraged ^{Ann. 1660.} in their sedition by intimation from himself and creatures, Monk performed the injunctions ^{Price's Hist. of the Restoration.} which had been laid on him by the council of state; whose report of this business was so agreeable to the Parliament, that, in a fit of generosity, they ordered their general, who had refused to eat at the charge of the city, ^{Ludlow.} ^{Parl. Hist.} fifty pounds to pay the expences of his dinner, and ten pounds a-day, to commence from his coming into England.

The dissimulation of Monk had now gone ^{Treachery of Monk.} far enough; its continuation, by confirming men in the opinion of his attachment to the government, would quell that spirit of sedition and impatience which was so necessary to the accomplishment of his views. Those acts of severity which he had executed on the city, had fixed an irreconcilable enmity between the Parliament and that body *. It was his business to regain the confidence of the malecontents, who were inflamed with an high degree of rage at such a manifestation of his supposed treachery. In pursuance of this plan, on Monk's return to Whitehall, a letter was dispatched to the Parliament, subscribed by himself and the chief officers of his army; in which, after complaining of the unpopular service they had been put upon, after taxing the house with favoring the fanatic party; by not prosecuting those who had acted with the army in the late committee

^{He joins with the citizens.}

* Monk told Price (his chaplain), that the encouragement he gave the council of state to go such lengths in their chastisement of the city, was a trick of his, and that he could not have done his business so soon without it, and possibly not at all.

Ann. 1660. of safety ; by permitting Sir Henry Vane and colonel Lambert to stay in town, contrary to their own order ; by suffering men to sit amongst them who lay under the accusation of high-treason ; and in having given encouragement to a fanatical petition * ; they ended their insolent expostulation by requiring them, in the name of the citizens, soldiers, and whole commonwealth, to issue out writs within a week, for the filling their house and assembling a new Parliament.

His influence to the Parliament.

Ludlow,
p. 320.

After the dispatch of this letter, which Monk supposed would be regarded as a declaration of war, on the pretence of composing the minds of the citizens, he marched his army back into the city, and desired Allen (the lord-mayor) to summon a common-council : When, after many apologies to this assembly for the indignities which he said he had been obliged to put on them, after telling them he had not forgotten the kind letter they had sent him when in the North, and declaring himself at that time of their opinion, though he was obliged to conceal

* The sectaries were justly alarmed at the complexion of the times, and sent up a very sensible petition to the Parliament, subscribed by many thousands ; in which they caution them against taking into places of trust suspected persons, warn them of the designs of the enemy in the return of the secluded members and a Parliament without due qualifications, and promise their assistance in the prosecution and defence of the good old cause against all opposition whatsoever. Notwithstanding the confidence of the enemy, Praise-God Barebones, a leather-seller, in the name of the petitioners, told the Parliament, they were men who had ever adhered to their authority, that they were lovers of justice, righteousness, freedom, and lovers of a commonwealth, having ever accounted it the best form of government. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXII. p. 94, & seq.

it,

it, till he might have an opportunity of discovering his sentiments to better advantage, he assured them of his perseverance in the new measures he had adopted, and desired they would plight their faith with his, for a strict union between the army and the city, in every enterprise for the happiness and settlement of the commonwealth. Ann. 1660.

No sooner were Monk's conduct and resolutions publicly known, than a scene of insolent triumph was spread over the face of the whole town. The Cavaliers, who, from the lowest state of despondency, now enjoyed in prospect the completion of their warmest wishes, gave a loose to the most shameful excesses. The Presbyterians, laying aside the sobriety and strictness of their former manners, and stupidly imagining they were exulting in their own triumphs, whilst they were in reality celebrating those of their most avowed and bitter enemies, joined in the revels of the Cavaliers, and both parties agreeing to a temporary suspension of mutual animosity, cordially united in their insults over an assembly, whose patriotic spirit and magnanimous conduct had hitherto foiled their separate and united efforts to reduce their country under the yoke of either ancient or new modes of tyranny. The ignorant multitude, ever fated (through the want of intelligence) to accelerate their misery and rejoice in their own disgraces, followed the example of their superiors, and, in their usual strain of vulgar wit, racked their gross imaginations for inventions, to affront a government who had raised the honor of their country to an unprecedented greatness, and from whose paternal regard,

Ann. 1660. regard, they could only hope to be emancipated from that abject state of servility, to which their order had been ever subjected.

The seditious example of the city of London, was followed by several of the Yorkshire gentry; and the aspect of the affairs of Ireland was equally unfavorable to those in England. The lord Broghill and Sir Charles Coote, men of selfish and treacherous principles, had held an intercourse with Monk from his first declaring against the English army, and were now well enough acquainted with his designs, to enter into a correspondence with Charles Stewart; to invite him over to Ireland; and to promise their endeavors for his restoration. Sir Charles Coote, with the assistance of Sir Theophilus Jones, and other officers, surprized Dublin, seized on the persons of colonel John Jones and the rest of the commissioners, took the government into his hands, drew together a considerable body of horse and foot, consisting chiefly of the English-Irish, and declared for the Parliament. Ludlow was on the road to Chester, in order to embark for Ireland, when he received the first intelligence of these disorders. After transmitting the account to Sir Arthur Haslerig, and exhorting him to take care not to be seduced by specious pretences, to strengthen the hands of those in whom there was no just ground for confidence, he proceeded with all expedition on his journey; but, on his arrival on the Irish coast, he found all the strong places in the country in the hands of malignants; that the officers in general had submitted to be directed by Sir Charles Coote; that all those who had been displaced from their posts in the army

Clar. Hist.
vol. III.
p. 589.

Ann. 1660.

army for debauchery and disaffection, had joined him; that those of known affection to the public good, had been necessitated to quit their posts, to make way for his creatures; that he had preferred an impeachment of high-treason against the Parliament's commissioners, and against Ludlow himself, and had obtained the passing a vote in the council of officers called to consider on the situation of the public affairs, "Not to receive him as their commander in chief till the pleasure of the Parliament should be known." Ludlow's resolution to prosecute the ends of his commission was not to be shaken with difficulties. He dispatched letters to all those officers of whose fidelity he had the best assurance, informing them of the return of the Parliament to the exercise of their authority, and of his own resolution to adhere to that authority. He required them, as they valued the cause of God and their country, to continue faithful to the same; to withdraw from those who, under the pretence of declaring for the Parliament, had usurped a power, which they designed to use for their destruction, and for the re-establishment of arbitrary power; to draw into considerable bodies, if it was possible, to defend themselves against those who should venture to attack them; and, if they should be overpowered, then to retire towards Munster, where he would endeavor, with what force he could collect, to give them his assistance.

When the arrival of Ludlow was made known to the council of officers, they sent a party of horse to his house, either to seize him there, or to lay privately by the sea-side in hopes to surprize him on his landing. On the failure of

Ann. 1660. this project, by the caution of Ludlow, captain Lucas was dispatched on board (by way of answer to a letter he had sent to the council of officers, signifying his arrival, and that he was come to give them his assistance towards the accomplishment of those things for which they had declared) to desire him to retire to England, to avoid farther inconvenience. On Ludlow's refusal to comply, he was pressed by Lucas to go to Dublin, in order to satisfy the scruples of the military council; but was too wise to be caught in such a cobweb snare, and retired to the fort of Duncannon, the governor of which was his friend; and there, after providing for the defence of the garrison, he continued his endeavors, by messages and letters, to draw together a party sufficiently strong to make head against the faction at Dublin. The faction, having displaced all the field-officers of the army, except their partisan major Edward Warren, and all the inferior officers who had any affection to the Republic, and given their commissions to men the most notoriously vicious and disaffected, gave orders to colonel Temple to block up the fort of Duncannon, and sent a letter to Ludlow, which they caused to be printed and published, in which they endeavored to justify their proceeding, and in which they set forth a malicious but frivolous charge against him: The tenor of which was, that he had shewn too much favor to the Wallingford-House-party, in endeavoring to moderate matters between them and the Parliament. Ludlow answered every particular of the charge, and retorted the accusation of treachery to the Parliament, home upon the faction. But whilst

he was vindicating his own conduct, and the ^{Ann. 1660.} authority of the government from the malice of its enemies, notwithstanding he had sent intercepted letters (which in some measure detected the treachery of the Irish faction) to Sir Arthur Haslerig and Mr. Scot, two men who had at present the greatest interest in the Parliament; notwithstanding his tried fidelity and courage; notwithstanding the wise and prudent manner in which he had conducted all the affairs of the commonwealth which had been entrusted to his management; he received the astonishing news, that the Parliament whom he had served so well, and for the support of whose power he had ventured so much, instead of sending over a confirmation of his authority, and an approbation of his measures, had sent an acknowledgment of their services to the council of officers, and orders to himself, in a letter signed by Lenthall the speaker, to attend them with an account of the affairs of Ireland, that, upon consideration thereof, such a course might be taken as should secure the public interest. Letters to the same effect were written to the other commissioners for the Irish affairs. As the courage of Ludlow was proof against the power of the enemies to the government, so was his virtue to its ingratitude. He hastened home, not with the design of surrendering his trust, and forsaking the interest of the commonwealth *, but to endeavor to awaken the fears

* The Parliament had not only been weak enough to revoke all powers given to Ludlow and the rest of their commissioners, but had passed an order that Ludlow should deliver up the fort of Duncannon, and every strong place in his possession, to the faction. These commands, so destructive to the very

Ann. 1660. of the Parliament, and, as he expresses himself, if they were not wholly infatuated, to persuade them to make a timely provision against the dangers which so visibly threatened them with sudden destruction. It was in this hope that he refused to surrender Duncannon, into the hands of the faction, as it might prove a good landing-place for an army from England.

Before the return of Ludlow to London, the Parliament had received from Sir Charles Coote, a charge of high-treason against him and the rest of the commissioners, colonel John Jones, colonel Miles Corbet, and colonel Tomlinson and so strangely influenced were this assembly by Monk, the present center of their hopes and fears, who highly patronized the faction *, that they let this charge (too frivolous and groundless to proceed on, and contrary to Ludlow's earnest solicitations, who wished for nothing more than an opportunity to lay before them the present state of Ireland) hang over the head of a servant of such acknowledged worth though they could not for shame, notwithstanding the charge of high-treason, forbid his taking his seat among them.

It was of this indulgence, that Monk complained in his arrogant letter to the Parliament

existence of the power which ordained them, Ludlow had the resolution to disobey.

* According to the account of Dr. Price, the whole plan of operation against the Irish administration, and the confederacy for a free Parliament, was laid between Sir Charles Coote and Dr. Douglas, whom Monk, when at Morpeth, had sent to Ireland with letters of importance to negotiate the business. Price tells us, that Monk was particularly jealous of Ludlow lest he should obstruct his designs by keeping the army in Ireland firm to the Parliament.

and the faction at Dublin were no sooner informed of the arrival of the Northern army in England, than, throwing off their former reserve and hypocrisy, they published a declaration in favor of the re-admission of the members excluded in 1648, ^{Ann. 1660.} summoned a convention of the estates in Ireland, who confirmed their declaration, and who, in order to secure the assistance of the army in their design of bringing in Charles Stewart, made a provision for the payment of their arrears and for their future maintenance. Encouraged by the acquiescence of the convention, the faction published a more insolent declaration; in which they reproached the Parliament with the favors they had extended to men accused of high-treason, and of the discouragements they had laid upon those who had been sent to England to prosecute the impeachment; told them plainly, they would no longer own their authority; and desired that a free Parliament might be called, to put an end to those confusions, into which their ambition and unskilfulness had involved their country *. Sir Hardress Waller (who had been one of the late king's judges, and was governor of the castle of Dublin) made a vain effort to seize Sir Charles Coote and his adherents, by moving, that the council of officers might be adjourned into the castle; but Sir Charles Coote, having an intimation of the design, accompanied with Sir Theophilus Jones, rode at the head of his

Thurloe's
State-
Papers,
vol. VII.
p. 817.

* This faction, who had thrown off their obedience to the Parliament, to render public the good understanding which subsisted between them and Monk, sent him a present of the hilt of a sword and a pair of spurs made of gold, with a rich hatband and an embroidered belt. *Ludlow's Memoir*, p. 327.

Ann. 1660. regiment through the streets of Dublin, declaring for a free Parliament ; and having gathered together his adherents, with the assistance of the giddy multitude, he besieged Waller in the castle ; whose soldiers, seduced with present bribes and larger promises, had the treachery to deliver up their governor and castle into the hands of the enemy.

The news of this general revolt, reached London about the time that Monk openly declared against the Parliament ; who, in this perilous state of their affairs, instead of calling their scattered forces to an immediate rendezvous, and instead of arming and enlisting under their banners all those whose safety, interest, and affections were tied to the commonwealth, had the condescension to take Monk's letter into consideration ; and resolved, that the thanks of the house should be given him for his faithful service in securing the city ; and that as to filling-up the house, the Parliament were upon the qualifications, before the receipt of the general's letter. Sir Henry Vane was ordered to leave the town ; colonel Lambert to surrender himself within a limited time * ; and Scot, and Robinson were dispatched into the city to persuade Monk to return to his old quarters, and

Feb. 11.

Leedlow.

* On the thirteenth of February, the serjeant at arms was ordered to carry Sir Henry Vane to his house at Bellew, in the county of Lincoln. A proclamation was agreed to, for colonel Lambert to surrender himself within a limited time, and give an account of his contempt of the order of Parliament ; or, in default thereof, that his estate real and persona should be sequestered. It was ordered, that the members of the house who had acted as the pretended committee of safety should appear, to answer for their conduct, on that day next night.

to assure him of the Parliament's good intentions towards him. Ann. 1660.

This only mean or blameable step which the Parliament had taken (except in their conduct to Vane and Ludlow) during their long, difficult, and troublesome administration, they seem suddenly to have repented of; for on their re-meeting in the afternoon, a proposal moved by Monk's party in the house, that he should be made general of the forces of the common-wealth, was not only rejected, but, on the vote that their armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland, should be governed by five commissioners *, and that the quorum of these commissioners should be three, after paying Monk the compliment of putting him in the commission, on the question whether he should be one of the quorum, it passed in the negative without any division. This instance of returning courage in the Parliament, did not a little alarm Monk. Whilst, with the advice of his party in the city, he was forming a militia, and nominating officers to command them, whose only recommendation was their disaffection to the government, he was more than ever violent in his professions of zeal for the establishment of a free commonwealth, and sedulous in the court he paid to those members of Parliament whom he had caajoled into a full confidence in his sincerity †, and who had at first influenced the house in his favor.

Ludlow.
Parl. Hist.

* These five commissioners were Monk, Haslerig, Morley, Walton, and Alured. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper was proposed, but excluded, on a division of thirty against fifteen. It was on a motion of Ludlow, that the command of the Irish forces was inserted in the commission. *Ludlow*, p. 317.

† Monk, in a letter which he wrote to Sir Arthur Haslerig,

Ann. 1660. The secluded members, who had taken every opportunity to embroil the government of the Parliament, and, headed by the impetuous and inflexible Mr. Prynne, had twice endeavored to obtrude themselves into their house, and had obstinately adhered to their pretensions of right to seats in their assembly, were not idle in making the best advantage of the present opportunity, to bring those pretensions into reality. They had been the instruments by which Monk had operated on the affections of the public, the original movers of the seditious conduct of the city; and now that matters were drawing towards a catastrophe, Monk, on the pretence of answering the vexatious importunity of the secluded members, and to give them satisfaction touching the justice of their exclusion, of which he owned himself to be thoroughly convinced, prevailed on some of the members of Parliament to give them a meeting at his house; where, instead of entering into fair debate, the secluded members, who were sure of Monk's countenance, reflected so scurrilously on the proceedings of the Parliament since their exclusion,

on the thirteenth of February, wherein he calls the proceedings of the house violent, and complains of a rumor which had gone abroad, of orders sent for the drawing together the dispersed forces, and of Haslerig's correspondence with Vane and Lambert, calls God to witness, that a commonwealth is the desire of his soul; that the Lord assisting, such desire shall be witnessed by the actions of his life, in the settling the empire in a free state, without a king, single person, or house of Lords. Ludlow speaks of this letter, and says, that Haslerig was so deluded by it, that, in this perilous state of affairs, he continued to refuse to concur in means for drawing the scattered forces together, to make head against the treacherous Monk. *Original Letter from General Monk to Sir Arthur Haslerig, in the possession of the Oxford University.* Ludlow, p. 317.

that

that Sir Arthur Haslerig, the fast friend of ^{Ann. 1660.} Monk, losing all patience, rose up hastily, and abruptly departed from the conference. This was the prelude to the second part of Monk's treachery ; who, dreading an accommodation between the Republicans and their old army, had no time to lose * ; and notwithstanding that the Parliament, to take away all pretence for complaint, had passed the bill for filling up the house †, and, on some objections of Lenthall the speaker, had passed an act to empower the clerk of the Parliament to sign a warrant to the commissioners of the great-seal for the issuing out writs within the time which in their declarations to the public they had prefixed, on the very evening of the day in which this business

* Price, the confidant of Monk, says, that the general thought it not safe to hold his design any longer in suspense ; for the army, in several parts of the country, began to grow mutinous ; his own officers to express their fears ; and, as the Parliament were proceeding to the execution of their sentence against Sir George Booth and his party, he was in continual fear, lest these delinquents should betray the part he had promised to take in the conspiracy. *Price's History of the Restoration.*

† As the Parliament, in their qualifications, had in a manner excluded the greater number of the Presbyterians from being elected, by excepting all persons who had been concerned in any plot for the bringing-in of Charles Stewart since the year 1648, this was in all probability the provocation which contributed to hasten on the event immediately following ; viz. The re-admittance of the secluded members. It is to be observed, that in this bill all persons were rendered incapable of election who were loose in their morals or profane in their conduct, and every person who in any manner, even to the giving entertainments to the electors, was guilty of bribery. All persons were to take an engagement to be faithful to the government of the country in a Republican form, before they were to be permitted to sit in the house. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXII. p. 132, & seq.

was

Ann. 1660. was transacted the council of state was alarmed with the information, that, on the next morning, the secluded members intended to force themselves into the house. A message was immediately dispatched to Monk, to acquaint him with the intelligence. Monk returned answer, that he was well assured there was no such design; but, for their satisfaction, and to hinder it if endeavored, he would not fail to double the guards appointed to attend. The very next morning, the secluded members accompanied by a large number of Monk's officers, went early to the house, and took their seats without molestation or hindrance; and Monk, by this second act of treachery, having obtained a Parliament who were entirely at his devotion, returned to his quarters at Whitehall.

*Transac-
tions of Par-
liament.*

Had all that party who composed the late assembly, remained in the house, the innovating members would have been by much the majority; but a great number of the former, disdaining to sit with men who were only admitted among them to ruin effectually the public cause, quitted their posts; and the restored Presbyterians, though they had hitherto constantly denied, that the Commons alone had the power of enacting laws, fell roundly to work; and, after repealing all the votes and orders relative to their exclusion, expunging them out of the Journals, suspending the powers of the council of state, and constituting another with large powers of imprisonment *, &c. they repealed

* This power of imprisonment was, by the desire of the council, extended to the persons of members of Parliament. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXII. p. 145, & seq.

the

the act which appointed commissioners for the ^{Ann. 1660.} government of the army, and passed another for the making their patron Monk captain-general and commander in chief of all the land-forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and, with Montague and Lawson, joint-admiral of the seas. They continued the customs and excise, with the hundred thousand pounds monthly assessment; cancelled all the acts, votes, and orders relative to the penalties inflicted on the late insurgents; gave Sir George Booth and his party their liberty and estates; and discharged out of the Tower, and other places of confinement, all the state-prisoners. The city of London, who had been very instrumental in the effecting this hopeful revolution, who had advanced large sums of money on the credit of the Parliament's acts, were not forgotten in the profusion of their generosity. All the angry orders passed against them, for their seditious malignancy to the late government were repealed; and the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council had liberty to make up their gates, posts, portcullices, and chains, as they should see cause, at the charge of the state. Votes were passed, and orders dispatched for the revoking the powers given to the militias in the respective counties, for the levying of men, money, horses, and arms. A committee was appointed to bring in a bill for new-modelling the militia; and the Parliament having, in five busy days, unsettled all the regulations and powers necessary to produce, defend, and support that system of Liberty which was the object of all good mens' wishes, closed their pernicious transactions with the mockery of setting a day

Ann. 1660. a day apart for a thanksgiving to the Lord, for the happy union of the Parliament, and the return of their members to the discharge of their trust.

Diffimula-
tion of
Monk.

The army, notwithstanding that most of the officers the best-affected to the commonwealth had been cashiered, and men of very different principles and morals commissioned in their room, were not so effectually re-modelled, as to render it safe to throw off that mask of dissimulation, with which Monk had hitherto deceived the shallow heads of several of the Republicans, and the body of Presbyterians, who vainly imagined the tendency of his conduct to be solely directed to the re-establishment of their power. That body of troops which were particularly under the general's command, and who had been rendered the instruments of restoring the secluded members to their seats, had only consented to perform that business, on certain conditions relating to their own interests, and with a proviso that their obedience to the Parliament, should extend no farther than as their conduct was grounded on the principles of a free state. It was highly necessary to quiet the apprehensions, which the new turn of affairs and the mysterious conduct of the commander in chief might raise in the military in general. On these reasons, Monk, the twenty-first of February, sent a kind of declaration to the house, in which he called God to witness, that he had nothing in his intentions but the Almighty's glory, and the settlement of the empire upon commonwealth foundations; that in this pursuit he should think nothing too dear to hazard, and did throw himself at their feet, to be any thing

thing or nothing to those great ends. Though Ann. 1660. he desired, they should be in perfect freedom, he begged leave to remind them, that the old foundations, by God's providence, were so broken, that, in the eye of reason, they could not be restored but upon the ruins of those who had engaged for their rights, in defence of the Parliament, and the great ends of the covenant; the uniting and making the Lord's name one in the three nations. The Liberty of the people, in the restoration of the monarchy would certainly be lost; for should they find, after so long and bloody a war against their King for breaking in upon their Liberties, he must be taken in again, it was out of question that he might for the future govern by his will, and dispose of Parliaments and Parliament-men as he pleased, since the people would never more rise for their assistance; that the interests of the city of London, which had been in all ages the bulwark of Parliaments, and to whom he for their great affection was deeply engaged, did certainly lie in a commonwealth, that government only being capable to make them the metropolis and bank of trade for all Christendom, whereunto God and nature had fitted them above all others. For the government of the church, Monk recommended moderate Presbytery, with a liberty for tender consciences; and added, that, if the state was monarchical, prelacy must be brought in, which the nations could not bear. The only objection, he said, which lay in the way of an equal government, was the interest of those lords who had shewn themselves truly noble by joining with the people, and, in defence of their just rights, had adventured

Ann. 1660.

adventured.. their blood and large estates ; but as the state of the nations was such as could not bear their sitting in a distinct house, the wisdom of Parliament would certainly find out such hereditary marks of honor as should make them more noble in future ages.' In the winding-up of this declaration, Monk recommended to the Parliament the four following articles : First, the settling the conduct of the armies of the three nations, in such a manner as should render them serviceable to their peace. Secondly, the providing a sufficient maintenance for the armies, with the payment of their arrears and other contingencies of government. Thirdly, the appointing a council of state, with authority to settle the civil government and judicatories of Scotland and Ireland, and to take care for the issuing out writs for summoning a Parliament of the three nations united, to meet at Westminster the twentieth of April next, with such qualifications as should secure the public cause, and according to such distributions as were used in the year 1654 ; which Parliament, so called, might meet and act in freedom, for the more full establishing the commonwealth, without taking, single person, or house of Lords. Fourthly, a legal dissolution of this Parliament, to make way for the succession of Parliaments. He concludes his declaration in the following manner : " In order to these good ends, the guards will not only willingly admit you * , but faith-

*. The expression of " will not only willingly admit you" appears as if this declaration was made to the secluded members before their entry ; but this was on the eighteenth of February, and the declaration was dated the twenty-first of this month, and read in the house the twenty-third.

fully

fully, myself, and every the officers under my command, and I believe the officers and soldiers of the three nations, will spend their blood for you and successive Parliaments. If your conjunction be directed to this end, you may part honorably, having made a fair step for the settlement of these nations, by making a way for successive Parliaments; but I must needs say, that if any different counsels should prevail, these nations would presently be thrown back into force and violence, and all hopes of this much-desired establishment be buried in disorder."

Monk, in this declaration, having endeavored to satisfy all the different interests in the kingdom, which were compatible with a commonwealth government, inclosed it in a letter, which, in his character of captain-general of the forces, he wrote to the several regiments quartered in England, Scotland, and Ireland; wherein he endeavored to apologize for the readmission of the secluded members, as the only expedient for a legal dissolution of the present Parliament, and the calling another, in which the present members, as they had all assured him, would be more free to act in the settlement of the government, when they should be called by writ on a commonwealth account, and as the only expedient to facilitate the raising money for the subsistence of the army and navy, which could not otherwise have been done without the effusion of blood. He solemnly assures them, he will join with them in the ends expressed in the declaration; and again calls God to witness, that he has no intentions or purpose

Ann. 1660. purpose to return to the old bondage, nor, as the providence of the Almighty had made the nations free at the expence of so much blood, to be found so unfaithful, as to lose that glorious cause; but did resolve, with the assistance of God, to adhere to them in the continuing their dear-purchased Liberties, both civil and spiritual. In this letter he takes upon himself to answer for the Parliament's not repealing any of the acts for sales or public dispositions of lands; promises to interpose with the succeeding assembly, to pass a farther confirmation of such sales and dispositions in the three nations; and entreats them to send up an officer to give an account of their acquiescence; and if any disaffected person should take occasion to disturb the peace of the commonwealth in favor of Charles Stewart, or any other pretended authority, that they would take means to secure them, till the pleasure of the Parliament or council of state should be known.

Whilst Monk, by these solemn protestations, was endeavoring to compose for a time the jealousy which the military might entertain of his conduct, he was every day forming the army to his views, by turning out the old officers, and filling their places with men of opposite affections. The Parliament, in settling the militia, followed Monk's plan; repealed the oath for the abjuration of the Stewart family; abrogated the engagement to be faithful to the commonwealth of England, without a single person or house of peers; passed an act, enabling to sue bonds and securities taken in the name of the two Cromwells, Oliver and Richard;

Richard * ; and, on the particular desire of ^{Ann. 1660.} Monk, put a negative on a bill brought in by the commonwealths-men, with the intention of uniting his interest to a Republican government, for the settling on himself and heirs the manor of Hampton-Court and other royal lands, and changed the proposed donation into a gratuity of twenty thousand pounds, to be charged on the receipts of the public exchequer.

This conduct of the Parliament and their general, which obviously tended to the destruction of every interest in the kingdom, but those of the prelates, the Cavaliers, and the Stewart family, notwithstanding the repeated protestations of Monk, gave an alarm to the army, the Republicans, and the sectaries in general, excepting the Presbyterians ; who, blinded with their desire of vengeance on the Independants, continued to be infatuated with the groundless hope of retaining a large share in the future government of the empire. Many sensible and spirited pamphlets were written, to awaken men to a sense of the benefits they were going to lose, and the danger of those evils which awaited them †. The Republicans met to con-

The troops
entertain a
suspicion of
his conduct:

* The Republican Parliament had privileged Richard against molestation from his creditors, with a view of paying themselves the greater part of his debts, and giving him time to adjust his affairs in a manner which should enable him to discharge the remainder ; but the severity of the Presbyterians, who had condescended to be tools of his and his father's ambition, in hopes that they would become the instruments of their spiritual tyranny, drove him out of the kingdom.

† Among these were two very sensible and spirited performances. The one was entitled, *The Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth* ; and the Excellence thereof compared with the Inconveniences and Dangers of re-admitting Kingship in this Nation. The author T. M. It appeared

Ann. 1660. cert measures to collect their scattered forces. Apprehensions of the That part of the military which was quartered in the capital, pressed Monk to interrupt the proceedings of the Parliament in the execution of their militia act *, and with all convenient speed to call a council of war, that the sense of the army might be known †, and tendered to him a paper for his subscription; the purport of which was to declare, that the government of the three nations should be a commonwealth, without kingship, or any other single person, by what name or title soever dignified or distinguished; that the present Parliament should be required to pass the same into an act, as a fundamental constitution, not to be shaken or questioned by future Parliaments; and that the army ought, upon no other terms, to maintain

so late as March 8, 1660, and was published in *Mercurius Politicus*, a weekly paper, written by Marchemont Nedham, who had the keenest pen that this or any age ever produced.—The other was called *Plain English*; and was answered by a Cavalier, in the true style of that party; it being one of the most inveterate abusive compositions ever penned.

* Ludlow writes, that Monk so far gratified the military as to send a letter to the house, to forbear the execution of their militia act, lest the persons they had intrusted therein should erect such a power in opposition to the army as might be sufficient to bring in Charles Stewart; that on the reading this letter, it at first caused great perplexity; but Prynne, who well understood Monk's mind, went to the printer, and procured the act to be immediately made public; that the house, to correspond with the general in his deceit, sent Sir William Waller, and one more, to give him satisfaction on the particulars of the act; and that Monk, who had only sent the letter on the importunities of his officers, resolved to be contented with their answer. *Ludlow*, p. 328, & seq.

† Gumble, in his *Life of Monk*, says, that from the time he entered England he governed the army more monarchically, and omitted all general councils of officers. *Gumble's Life of Monk*, p. 202.

their

their authority. Colonel Okey, a man in great ^{Ann. 1660} repute with the commonwealth party, was on this occasion the mouth of the military; and Monk, who was as deficient in the powers of oratory as in honesty, put the task of answering Okey on his brother Clarges, whom he had made commissary of his army. The arguments urged by Clarges were frivolous, and in no degree satisfactory; but Monk, who depended upon the support of the corrupt individuals he had brought into the army, after a long debate, in which there were high words, told the malecontents, that it was contrary to military discipline to meddle with civil government; that they and he were under the command of the Parliament; their superiors; that he did not doubt but the next representative assembly would quiet all their apprehensions; and that this could not hurt them, for they were on the point of dissolving themselves. Though it would have been easy to have quoted Monk's own conduct in disturbing the government of the Republican Parliament against him, yet the officers, either from cowardice or want of unanimity, gave up the point, and, after receiving the commands of the general to have no more meetings, returned quietly home. Sir Arthur Haslerig, through whose unfortunate credulity Monk had succeeded in all his pernicious schemes *, was questioned by the Parliament,

* Private intimations from Monk had encouraged Haslerig to propose and carry through the house those angry votes, which hastened on the last fatal interruption of the Parliament; it was Haslerig who prevented the alteration which the Parliament inclined to make in Monk's army, from taking place; and it was principally Haslerig's influence, which prevailed

Ann. 1660. on the suspicion of his having a hand in raising this spirit in the army ; and Monk took care to remove from their commands all those who had been active in that business.

Trans-
actions of
Parliament.

The Parliament, who were determined to make the best advantage of their transitory power, passed an act, declaring that to be the public confession of faith of the Church of England, which had been drawn up by their assembly of divines in 1646 ; ordered a proclamation for putting all the laws and statutes against Popish recusants, priests, and Jesuits in speedy and effectual execution ; allotted a

with the house not to enter into those measures, which at any time, whilst they had the power in their hands, would have prevented the execution of his desigus. Resentment against the late insolent interrupters of the civil authority was the principal motive which induced Haslerig to raise to such a mischievous height the power and importance of Monk ; a resentment which Ludlow had in vain endeavored to moderate, by representing to him the danger of estranging himself from his ancient friends, and uniting with the lawyers and clergy, whose principles and practice were inconsistent with a just and equal government. Though nothing, he told him, could recover the nation from the confusion the conduct of the army had brought on them, but the restitution of the Parliament to their authority, yet if this assembly should return to the exercise of power with a spirit of revenge against those who had wronged them and the public, and not rather contribute to their utmost to reconcile all those whose interest was involved in the commonwealth, they would ruin themselves, and every one who wished them and the common cause well. The Parliament's promising to continue the maintenance of the ministry by tythes, contrary to what before their interruption they had intended, was probably the consequence of this union of Haslerig and his party with the clergy and the lawyers.

Gumble says, this declaration was passed by Monk's party in the house, in the absence of Scot and Robinson, who were on purpose sent out of the way, as commissioners from the Parliament to acknowledge his services. *Ludlow*, p. 283, & seq. *Parliament's Declaration.*

reward

reward of twenty pounds for the discovery of ^{Ann. 1660.} any such person ; revived the Solemn League and Covenant, and directed it to be printed, published, set up in their own house, and set up and read in every church. They revived all the acts and ordinances they had formerly made for the payment of tythes, and passed an act for the re-settling incumbents in sequestered livings, on condition of their officiating according to the established directory.

The short reign of the Presbyterians was now hastening to a conclusion : They had done all the business for which they had been suffered to fit ; and Monk, who was as earnest for the annihilation of their authority as he had been for its restoration, put the Parliament in mind of the conditions on which they had been permitted to meet. Several members, and in particular the tenacious Mr. Prynne, were for keeping their power till they had settled the government of the country : but as this assembly were supported by no interest in the kingdom but that of their own sect, and a great number of these were men of just and liberal notions, and abhorred that conduct in their party which tended so visibly to the destruction of all those good ends, for the attainment of which the nation had so freely bled *, they were obliged

* The Presbyterians were divided into two parties. The one party was as bigoted to monarchy in the civil government of the country, as they were to the forms and discipline of their church in the ecclesiastical. The other party were men of very liberal principles : They allowed of a general toleration, were termed the Presbyterian Republican Party ; and, as Clarendon observes of Sir Arthur Haslerig, provided they were sure never to be troubled with a king or a bishop, and that they could enjoy their own opinions without molestation,

Ann. 1660. to comply; and, after passing a vote, that the general should give no commissions but to of-

were indifferent as to other things. The Royalist Presbyterians were as much opposed by their Republican brethren, as they were by the sectaries, with whose pretensions for liberty of conscience they had waged perpetual war; and the Cavaliers, their old inveterate persecutors, who, according to Price, were become less odious to the present authority than any other party, regarded them as the first authors of their mortifications with such malignancy and hatred, that they railed at those of this faction who had suffered martyrdom for loyalty to their idol the late King and his son, with as much bitterness as they did against the Republicans; and exulted on the exclusion of those members who were turned out of the house on the same account, in the following acrimonious lines:

Farewell, ye race of Judas, who betray'd
 The King your master, and have laid
 Such burthens on our shoulders! God on high
 Grant you a dire and bloody tragedy!
 You were the champions of a wicked cause;
 You have unthron'd your sovereign; and the laws
 By you are quite subverted; you have rent
 In pieces a most blessed government.
 Now let their just and woeful cries and tears
 Whom you made widows pierce the Almighty's ears;
 And let those orphans who, by your expreis,
 Have lost their fathers and are fatherless,
 Roar loud for deadly vengeance; and God grant,
 As they, your wives and children may know want!
 We'll to your graves your hearse laughing bring;
 Instead of dirges we will carolls sing;
 In joyful strains we'll pen your elegies,
 And chronicle your stinking memories;
 Saying, Here lies, and no man doth lament,
 The rotten members of a parliament.

“ Such, says Cromwell in his declaration against the Cavaliers, is their inherent malignity and irreconcilableness towards all those who have served their country, and vindicated the interest of the people and nation, that they decline all the rules of civility, and will have no conversation with them; and, that the same malice and animosity may descend to their posterities, they will not make marriages nor any friendship

ficers who would make a declaration, that the war undertaken by both houses of Parliament in their defensive part against the forces raised in the name of the late King was just and lawful; and having resolved, that Friday the sixth day of April next, should be set apart for a day of public fasting and humiliation, to be solemnized throughout the nation, under the sense of the great and manifold sins and provocations thereof, and to seek the Lord for his blessing on the Parliament shortly to be assembled, that the Lord would make them instruments to restore and settle peace and government in the nations upon foundations of truth and righteousness; they dissolved themselves by act, on the sixteenth of March, 1660, and appointed the twenty-fifth day of the ensuing April for the calling and holding the next representative*.

or alliance with those who have been separated or divided from them in these public differences."

Had this perverseness and malignity continued after the Restoration, in the extent in which it existed at this time, we should not now lament the perversion of principle in the old Whig families; who, with such alliances, have adopted all the fertility of sentiment, and that rancorous aversion to the freedom and happiness of their fellow-citizens, which have been so conspicuous in that party, distinguished by the several appellations of Cavaliers, Jacobites, and Tories.

* When the house was on the point of passing the act for their dissolution, Crew, one of the secluded members, who, in the beginning, had been very active in carrying on the war against the King, moved, that, before the Parliament dissolved themselves, they should bear their witness against the horrid murder of their sovereign. This produced a great number of protestations; and one of the assembly having concluded his discourse with asserting that he had neither hand nor heart in that affair, Mr. Scot, an honest Republican, though one of those members whom the hypocrisy of Monk had deluded to the destruction of the public cause, stood up,

C H A P. X.

Matters relating to Charles Stewart, commencing with his connections with the Spanish court, to the dissolution of the English Parliament.—

He receives a letter from Monk, containing an offer of his service.—*Charles, according to Monk's instructions, leaves the Spanish territories, and removes to Breda.*—*Affairs in England hasten towards his restoration.*—

Elections go in his favor.—*Meeting of Parliament.*—*The Lords resume their seats.*—

Both houses receive letters from Charles, with a declaration of favor and grace.—*They vote that the government of England shall be by King, Lords, and Commons.*—*Proclaim Charles Stewart King, and invite him to resume the government, without making any stipulations for the people.*—*Zeal and servility of both houses.*

Servility of the city.—*Charles removes*

and told the house, that though at that time he did not know where to hide his head, yet he durst not refuse to own, that not only his hand but his heart was in that busines; and after reasoning on the justice of the King's sentence, he concluded his discourse with saying, that he should desire no greater honor in this world, than that the following inscription should be engraved on his tomb: “Here lieth one, who had a hand and a heart in the execution of Charles Stewart, late king of England.” After Scot had made this declaration, he and the greater part of the Republicans withdrew, and left the Presbyterians, who had just sat long enough to destroy effectually the interests of their party, to the enjoyment of the triumph of putting the last stroke to the ruin of the public cause. *Ludlow, p. 329.*

from

from Breda to the Hague, where he receives the compliments of the several powers of Europe on his change of fortune.—Great preparations in England to receive the King.—Large assessments.—A poll-tax.—Charles, at the Hague, receives a deputation from the Parliament, the city, the church, and the Presbyterian clergy.—Mountague carries over the fleet to the King, who, with his retinue, embark for England.—Madness of the people on his arrival.—His triumphant entry into the city of London, and procession to Whitehall, where he receives adulatory addresses from both houses.—Vicious excesses of the people encouraged by the example of the King.

ON Cromwell's attack on the Spanish dominions in the West-Indies, Charles Stewart, who, to appease the jealousy of the usurper, had been turned out of the French territories, renewed his solicitations for assistance at the court of Spain; though this court had treated him in a more contemptuous manner than any other in Europe. They had rudely dismissed two of his agents, Cottington and Hyde, sent by him to Madrid with the formal title of ambassadors-extraordinary *; and with the proposal of a perpetual alliance to Cromwell by their ambassador, Don Alonzo de Cardenas, they had offered to support that usurper with all the force of Spain, if he should assume the

Ann. 1650.
Matters relating to Ch. Stewart, commencing with his connections with the Spanish court, to the dissolution of the English Parliament.

Burnet's Summary of Affairs before the Restoration.

* For a pompous narrative of this farcical embassy, and the refusal of Cottington (who, from an apostacy of some years, had returned to Popery) to remain, though in a private character, at Madrid, consult lord Clarendon's History.

Ann. 1660. title of King, to assist him in the recovery of Calais, and to engage for a perpetual exclusion of the Stewart family from the throne of England. Spain, attacked on all sides by the two powerful empires of France and England, did not disdain to accept the tender of Charles, in drawing off the Irish and British Royalists who were employed in the service of France. A kind of treaty was entered into by the fugitive prince and the king of Spain's ministers at Brussels, who promised nothing on the part of their master but that whenever Charles should be in possession of a good port-town in England, his Catholic majesty would assist him with a body of six thousand foot, ships to transport them, and a proper proportion of ammunition. They insisted that Charles should remove his family to Bruges, and gave him to understand that he was not to expect any public or expensive reception. James Stewart having been dismissed the French service, though he had served some campaigns with reputation, joined his brother, and entered as a volunteer under Don John of Austria; but though Charles raised four regiments of Scotch, Irish, and English Royalists, and, by a correspondence with the garrison, who were half Irish, had procured the surrender of St. Ghislain, a place of some importance, to the Spaniards, he could never obtain from the court of Madrid other

† At the same time that Cromwell rejected this proposal, for reasons which have been shewn in the history of his usurpation, he refused to hearken to the joint solicitations of Cardenas and the prince of Conde, for assistance to the reformed party in France. *Guthrie*, vol. III. p. 1311. *Burnet's Summary of Affairs before the Restoration.*

than

than general promises of assistance on the first Ann. 1660. convenient opportunity, and a pension of six thousand guilders a month.

Had the inclinations of the king of Spain been ever so favorable, he was not in a situation to recover dominions for other princes. Portugal had detached itself from his empire, his armies were broken, his finances disordered, the Low Countries lay at the mercy of France, and the next campaign, it was expected, would put the French king in the possession of all the Spanish Netherlands. Happy was it for Philip, that the interests of this victorious nation were in the disposal of individuals. His sister, Ann of Austria, who, in the infancy of her son Louis, had governed the French empire in the character of regent, and maintained an absolute power over her creature Mazarine (to whom Louis, totally engaged in the pleasures of love and gallantry, had resigned the reins of government), regarding the condition of her brother with the tender partiality of a relation, and the French people as the property of her son, by her authority with the cardinal, stopped the progress of the French arms, and, by a treaty of peace and alliance, parted with an opportunity for conquest, which, happily for the freedom of Europe, has never since been fully retrieved. In vain did Mazarine urge to the importunate queen, the everlasting reproach he should incur, by rendering himself an instrument in making a peace, when Spain was reduced to such straits that it could no longer resist the victorious arms of France; in vain did he urge, that the disappointing the country of so sure a conquest would not only be ungrateful

Ann. 1660. grateful to the army, but would incense all good Frenchmen against the minister, and the queen herself; his arguments were fruitless; the queen was not to be dissuaded from her purpose; and the cardinal was obliged to submit, and relinquish the greater part of those important advantages, obtained by the assistance his submissive conduct and cajolments had gained from the English usurper Cromwell.

This important negociation was to be conducted in person by Mazarine and Don Louis De Haro, the two ministers of the respective monarchs; and the Isle of Pheasants, at the foot of the Pyrenees, as it was claimed by neither prince, was the place appointed for their meeting. After some conferences, a treaty of peace was concluded: Philip was to give up to the French monarch the places already in his possession, and the alliance between the two crowns was strengthened by a marriage between Louis and Mary-Theresa, the Infanta of Spain; but previous to this contract, Louis made a solemn renunciation of every succession which might accrue to him in right of his wife. Charles Stewart, reduced to despair by the failure of all the enterprizes of the Royalists, and in particular at the restoration of the much-dreaded power of the Parliament *, and the defeat of

* " The return of the government into these mens' hands (says Clarendon), who had first formed the commonwealth, and fostered it for near five years after it was born, seemed to be the most dismal change which could happen, and to pull up all the king's hopes by the roots. Every other change and fluctuation in the government administered some hopes to the King; but this surprizing resurrection of the Parliament, the only image of power which was most formidable to him and his party, seemed to pull up all their hopes by the roots, and was

Sir George Booth, repaired to the Pyrenees, in ^{Ann. 1660.} the vain hope of persuading Mazarine and De Haro to espouse his interest, on the promise of giving up to the two crowns the island of Jamaica and the town of Dunkirk †. Mazarine, lest it should give disgust to the English government, of which he stood in great dread, had expressed himself very warmly against this undertaking of Charles, and refused to see him, though it is said he offered to marry his niece*. To compleat the mortification, Lockart, the ambassador of the English Republic, was at the same time received with great pomp and splendor: The cardinals coaches and guards were sent a day's journey to conduct him to the congress, and the cardinal paid him the singular compliment of giving him the right-hand; a respect which had never been paid to the ambassadors of princes ‡.

was interpreted by that party as an act of providence to establish their monstrous murders and usurpation."

† We are obliged to Mr. Carte, a very warm Royalist, for this anecdote. The more wary Clarendon, for very obvious reasons, is entirely silent on this part of Charles's errand. *Carte's Life of Ormond*, vol. II. p. 184.

* This was not the first mortification of the kind received by Charles. He, before this, had made proposals to marry the daughter of Henry-Frederic de Nassau, prince of Orange; but the proposal was civilly declined by the princess-dowager; who, with all the rest of the world, regarded his expectations of ascending the throne of England to be romantic, and without any probable grounds. *Carte's Life of Ormond*, vol. II. p. 182.

‡ It was on the pressing invitation of Mazarine, who told him that he would never make a peace without the consent and inclusion of England, that Lockart was present at this treaty. The Parliament were in a manner invited by the cardinal to take a part in this business; and Lockart told Ludlow and Sir Henry Vane, that had it not been for the unhappy divisions which prevailed at home, the English Republic

Ann. 1660.

As it had been the policy of the English Republicans, on the account of trade, and to balance the growing greatness of France, to keep on terms of amity with Spain, the expectations of that court of obtaining a peace with England were very high on the re-establishment of the power of the Parliament *. The reception, therefore, which Charles met with from Don Louis De Haro, was as little satisfactory, though more civil, than the behavior of the cardinal. De Haro, after insisting on his laying aside the intention of repairing to Madrid, promised him a better reception than he before had met with, on his return to Flanders, and Charles, after unnecessarily exposing himself to a public slight, and making an unsuccessful attempt on the fidelity of Lockart ‡, was obliged to return to

public might have had what terms she would have asked either from France or Spain. *Clar. Hist.* vol. III. p. 530. *Ludlow's Memoirs*, p. 292.

* Carte says, there were great rejoicings at Brussels on the re-establishment of the power of this assembly. *Carte's Life of Ormond*, vol. II. p. 196.

‡ Many arguments were urged to Lockart by Middleton, that he should make his own terms if he would admit Charles and his followers into the garrison of Dunkirk. They were answered, that he had received his commission from the Parliament, and would not open his gates but in obedience to their authority. This was a small trial of Lockart's virtue, as the affairs of Charles Stewart were supposed to be desperate; but he shewed himself superior to a much greater temptation at the same time tendered by Mazarine, who offered to make him marshal of France, with large appointments of pensions and other emoluments, if he would deliver Dunkirk and Mardyke into his hands. Mr. Hume calls Lockart's scruples in regard to his non-compliance with Charles Stewart, an "approaching towards superstition;" but, however, says, that it is with difficulty he can entirely condemn him. *Clar. Hist.* vol. III. p. 576, & seq. *Hume's Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. II. p. 112.

his

his old quarters, without any fairer prospect than to be permitted to remain in the Spanish dominions, with a narrow assignation for his maintenance *.

In the midst of this gloom of despair, Charles received an invitation from Sir Charles Coote to repair to Ireland; but the military in that island had not sufficiently declared their intention of supporting his pretensions, to venture his person in so hazardous an enterprize. This ray of hope was followed by the intelligence, that the secluded members had forced themselves into the house; and this, with a letter from Mountague, joint-admiral of the fleet, containing a renewed offer of his services. But whilst Charles and his hungry dependents were solacing themselves with the prospect of a restoration, though on what was termed by the party "hard conditions," they received the full completion of their joys in a message from the traitor Monk, who had hitherto maintained a perfect silence; but fearing lest the joint parties of Cavaliers and Presbyterians, now trusted with arms, and who, on the meeting of the next representative, would be in possession of the whole authority of the nation, should do the work without him, and rob him of the merit of his treachery †,

He receives
a letter from
Monk, con-
taining an
offer of his
services.

* Clarendon says, that both Mazarine and De Haro looked upon the Parliament as more securely settled against domestic disturbances, and much more formidable with reference to their neighbors, than ever Cromwell had been, and thought of nothing more than how to make firm alliances with it. *Clar. Hist.* vol. III p. 553.

† Clarendon says, that these conceptions in Monk were carefully cultivated by Morrice, a Devonshire man, a high-flown Royalist, and a relation of the general. But, however, the temper of the times would have been a sufficient item to Monk,

Ann. 1660. he dispatched Sir John Grenville to Brussels, where at this time resided the family of the Stewarts, with a message to Charles of excuses for his past conduct, with assurance of entire devotion to his service, and with an exhortation that he should instantly leave the Spanish territories.

Charles, according to Monk's instructions, Charles obeyed without hesitation the injunctions of Monk, and removed to Breda; where, whilst he was enjoying the prospect of

Monk that no time was to be lost, as from the first he had determined to sell the liberties of his country for a lucrative reward. He had recommended Thurloe, who had already sent over a tender of his services to Charles Stewart, to the town of Bridgnorth in Shropshire; but received information, that the general's recommendation was of no account; for the native bent of the greater part of the inhabitants of Bridgnorth, and over-powerful sway of their great landlords, meeting together, irresistibly carried them on to an high Cavalier choice of both their burgesses; that the general's writing would be so far from speeding Thurloe's election, that his standing would not have carried his own at Bridgnorth, except he had declared himself absolutely for the King, and without any such terms as it was said would be offered him. Clarendon says, that very many of the elected were known to be of singular affection to the King, and very few who did not heartily abhor the murder of his father, and the government which succeeded. Burnet relates, that the Republicans made great efforts to rouse their party, but their time was past; all were either as men amazed or asleep; they had neither the skill nor the courage to make opposition; the elections of Parliament ran all the other way; they saw their business was quite lost, and were struck with a spirit of giddiness. In this general defection from the principles of virtue, policy, reason, and justice, in this paroxysm of national madnes and cowardice, Ludlow had the almost-singular satisfaction of receiving from the borough of Hinden their grateful sense of the true affection he had borne to his country, and the services he had strenuously endeavored to render it, in the compliment of electing him as their burgess. *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. VII. p. 895. *Clar. Hist.* vol. III. p. 573. *Burnet's Summary of Affairs before the Restoration.*

this

Ann. 1660.
 this unexpected fortune, the affairs in England were speedily hastening towards the grand catastrophe of his restoration. The army was modelled in a manner, to serve as an instrument to any purpose * ; and the council of state was composed of Royalist Presbyterians, and time-serving Republicans † ; who, foreseeing the drift of Monk's designs, had already made their peace with Charles Stewart, and were determined by their services to bid for his favor with the Cavaliers and Presbyterians : these men were invested by the Parliament before their dissolution with full powers to provide for the public safety on all emergencies, and to conduct every part of government till the meeting of the next representative ‡. The Parliament, either to amuse

leaves the
Spanish ter-
ritories, and
removes to
Breda.

Affairs in
England
hasten to-
wards his
restoration.

* Great care had been taken to scatter the army in wide quarters ; so as not to suffer those who were well affected to the Republican cause to lie near one another. The well-affected were so mixed with men of contrary principles, that it was impossible for them to make any successful efforts to disappoint the designs of their commanders. No more troops were kept in the capital, than what were necessary to cope with the Republican party, and these were men picked for the purpose.

Burnet's Summary of Affairs before the Restoration.

† The council of state : Lord Fairfax, lord-commissioner Widdrington, lord-chief-justice St. John, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir John Evelyn, Sir William Waller, Sir Richard Onslow, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Temple, Sir John Holland, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, William Pierpoint, Denzil Holles, colonels Morley, Mountague, Harley, Rossiter, Thompson, Birch, Popham, John Crew, Richard Norton, Richard Knightley, Arthur Annesley, John Trevor, John Swinfen, John Weaver, Esqrs. scrjeant Maynard.

Parl. Hist. vol. XXII. p. 131.

‡ By the advice of Monk, they published a proclamation, prohibiting all agitators from debauching, as they termed it, the army, and promising ten pounds to any soldiers or officers who should apprehend such ; and Monk, who thought he could never sufficiently provide against a Republican spirit in the mi-

Ann. 1660. themselves or the public, had prohibited the election of any person who had borne arms against them ; but as there was no authority to coerce this order, and the matter was only to be questioned by the next assembly, the prohibition was laughed at, and the elections in many places went in favor of the rankest malignants of the Cavalier faction.

Elections go in his favor.

In this career of success, an accident happened which put the friends of the Restoration, notwithstanding their advantages, in a terrible fright. The severe invectives which were every day published by the Cavaliers, against all those who had acted in opposition to the principles of monarchy, with the reiterated representation of the Republicans, that the whole party must inevitably incur hardships from the re-established authority of an inveterate provoked enemy, united to a strong aversion to monarchical government, affected the military in a manner, which rendered it difficult to keep them within bounds till the Restoration * could

litary, drew up an address, in which was professed absolute and unlimited obedience to him their general, the council of state, and the succeeding parliament. All those officers were cashiered who refused to sign it. *Gumble's Life of Monk*, p. 278.

* " Scarce a day, writes Thurloe, but reviling pamphlets come out against all the Parliament did, from top to toe ; all are traitors now, all rebels. One Dr. Griffith published and printed a little book, justifying the King in all his ways against the Parliament ; and wherein he called the five members, Traitors, and the war the Parliament made, Rebellion." Some of the Royalists about Charles Stewart had the folly to talk of resolutions of revenge ; and these premature threatenings gave such an alarm to all those who on every principle had engaged against the royal cause, that it occasioned the more judicious Cavaliers to draw up and circulate a declaration, in the name of the party ; in which, after many acknowledgments and thanks to Monk for having, next under the Divine Providence, so far conducted

be effected. In this temper of the army, ^{Ann. 1660.} Lambert, who had been imprisoned in the Tower for not giving a security of twenty thousand pounds for his good behavior, suddenly made his escape. The alarm was the greater, as neither the separate nor united forces of the Cavaliers and Presbyterians had been a match for the Republican veterans; and it was regarded as a dangerous expedient for Monk to assemble any considerable body of his army to oppose them. From this consternation, the government was relieved by the activity of

conducted the nations towards a happy recovery of their laws and antient government, they professed, that they reflected on their past sufferings as from the hand of God, and therefore did not cherish any violent thoughts or inclinations against any person whatsoever who had been instrumental in them; and that if the indiscretion of any particular persons should transport them to exprestions contrary to this their general sense, they utterly disclaimed them; they promised, by their quiet and peaceable deportment, to testify their subission to the council of state, in expectation of the future Parliament, on whose wisdom they trusted God would give such a blessing, as might produce a perfect settlement both in church and state; and declared, that as the general had not chosen the sandy foundations of self-government, but the firm rock of national interest, wherein to build a settlement, so it was their hope and prayer, when the building should come to be raised, it might not, like Rome, have the beginning in the blood of brethren, nor, like Babel, be interrupted by the confusion of tongues, but that all might speak one language, and be of one name; that all mention of parties and factions, and all rancor and animosities might be thrown in and buried like rubbish under the foundation. These professions, under the title of a Declaration from the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, who had served the late king or his present majesty, or adhered to the royal party, in such a city or county, were signed by all the considerable persons therein; and such was that facility existing at this time in the Presbyterians to be deceived, that it had its designed effect.

Clar. Hist. vol. III. p. 587, & seq. Ormond's State Papers, 8vo ed. 1739, vol. II. p. 318.

Ann. 1660. Ingoldsby, a creature of the Cromwell family, in whom was united, to a personal hatred of Lambert for the part he had acted against his patron Richard Cromwell, an eager desire to distinguish himself in the services of Charles Stewart; with whom, notwithstanding his being one of the number termed Regicides, he had already made his peace *. Ingoldsby overtook Lambert at Daventry, where he had yet assembled but four troops of horse. By the treachery of the commanding officer, one of these deserted †; and Lambert, not behaving with his usual spirit, was seized by Ingoldsby, whilst, with many improper submissions, he was endeavoring to obtain leave to make his escape. Okey, Axtel, Cobbet, Credde, all staunch Republicans, were taken at the same time.

This early suppression of the party was the more seasonable, as the roads were full of soldiers to join them, and they would have been very formidable in a few days ‡. Overton, the go-

* Ingoldsby's regiment was the first which petitioned for justice against the late King.

† What is very particular, these troops, though they came over to Ingoldsby, having been formerly under his command, would not engage on his side. *Gumble's Life of Monk*, p. 284, & seq.

‡ Ludlow was the first person applied to on the occasion of Lambert's escape; but though his life and property depended on the success of the undertaking, yet this upright citizen tells us, that he thought it not prudent to engage his friends in so public a manner, till he should see some probability of making a stand, which could be discerned by Lambert's first rendezvous; that, in the mean time, he sent messengers to several officers who commanded the forces in the counties of Dorset, Somerset, and Wilts, to be ready to march if there should be occasion; that from major Whitby, who had been sent from Lambert to acquaint him with his intentions, and to consult with him on the best way of drawing

vernор of Hull, had found himself obliged to ^{Ann. 1660.} deliver up that last garrison which remained in the hands of the Republicans, to lord Fairfax. The Presbyterians, thinking the day their own, were amusing themselves with the limitations on which they intended to admit Charles Stewart to the government of the empire *. The ge-

ing together the forces on that side, with an assurance that there were one thousand horse already assembled, he had enquired what Lambert had or would declare for ; that he told him, it was the duty of every man to inform himself of the justice of any cause before he engaged in it ; that on Whitby's answering, that it was not now a time to declare what they would be for, but what they would be against, which was that torrent of tyranny and Popery ready to break in upon the nation ; he replied, The best way to prevent these mischiefs will be to agree upon something which may be contrary to them, not so much in the name as in the nature of it, whereby we may justly hope to engage all good men to favor and assist us in our enterprize ; the utmost care ought to be taken to convince the nation of the sincerity and justice of our intentions, especially as they have been so lately cheated in advancing a personal instead of a public interest. Ludlow farther informs us, that, two or three days after this message, an account was brought to him of Lambert's defeat and imprisonment ; and afterwards, upon the enquiry what he had intended to do if he had kept his ground, he was informed, that he had prepared two declarations, very different from each other, on the design of publishing that which would have procured him the greater party. *Ludlow, p. 333, & seq.*

* Price says, that the ministers of the Presbyterian persuasion were in a hopeful expectation, that all those sects who had supplanted them would, with little difficulty, be put under their feet ; and that themselves alone should inherit the blessing, the church of England being at that time below their fear, for Monk was the defender of their faith, and had wrested the sword out of the enemies hand. Price farther informs us, that Monk, to cajole these weak men to his purpose, would not suffer any minister to preach before him but those of this persuasion. *Price's History of the Restoration, p. 121, & seq.*

Ann. 1660. nerality of this body were for binding him with such strict conditions, as should not only secure those, who had borne arms against his family, but such as had purchased the lands of the crown, of bishops, and of delinquents in general. The confirming what was offered by his father in the Isle of Wight treaty, was the most favorable sense of the party †; but the Presbyterian nobility and leading commoners *, Clar. Hist. vol. III. p. 572, & seq. who expected rewards for the services they had rendered, were for making a full sacrifice of the ecclesiastical and civil interests of the body,

† The following description of the views and temper of parties, is to be met with in a letter from Thurloe to Downing, the English ambassador to the States General: "Here are great thoughts of heart touching the present constitution of affairs. The Sectarians, with the Commonwealths-Men, look upon themselves as utterly lost if the King comes in, and therefore probably will leave no stone unturned to prevent it. But what they will be able to do I see not of themselves, unless the Presbyterians join with them, whereto I see no disposition; yet many of them are alarmed also, and are thinking how to keep him out, and yet not mingle again with the sectaries. Others of the Presbyterians are studying strict conditions to be put upon the King, especially touching church-government, hoping to bind him that way, and therein are most severe against all the King's old party, proscribing them which are already beyond sea; not one of them are to return with him. If he comes in upon their terms, and prohibiting his party here to come near him, he must also confirm all sales whatsoever. The peers and others of the more moderate party speak of the Isle of Wight treaty; but there is another brisk party of the old and new Cavaliers, and these are the most numerous, who would have him in on the same conditions his father would have been in, had he prevailed in the war against the Parliament; and these being generally armed through your nation, will in all probability carry it." *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. VII. p. 887.

* These were the duke of Northumberland, the earl of Manchester, Holles, Waller, Lewis, and others. *Clar. Hist.* vol. III. p. 572, & seq.

and

and restoring him on any terms. In these conferences, Monk, who was determined to complete his villany by deceiving all who had put any confidence in him, insisted so strenuously on the most rigid propositions, that these interested individuals, concluding his conduct had been the effect of stupidity rather than design, and that he had so unconquerable an aversion to the principles of monarchy that it would not be safe to prosecute their advice, broke off the debates, and the matter was left wholly undetermined till the meeting of Parliament *.

In the act for dissolving the last Parliament, ^{Journals of Commons, March 16.} there was a proviso, that the single actings of the Commons, enforced by the necessities of the times, were not intended in the least to infringe, much less to take away, that ancient native right which the house of Peers, consisting of those lords who did engage in the cause of the Parliament against the forces raised in the name of the late King, and so continued until 1648, had and have to be a part of the Parliament of England. On the authority of this proviso, though the writs had been issued in the name of the Keepers of the Liberties of England, by the special invitation of Monk, those lords who had sat till the year of the King's execution resumed their seats; and though, according to Ludlow, he had given them his

* It was the apparent disapprobation of Monk, and the fear of losing all interest with their party, before they had secured the power of those whose favor they were now courting, which occasioned these leaders to speak in public of the Isle of Wight treaty. *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. VII. p. 887.

Ann. 1660. promise to the contrary, he afterwards admitted the whole troop of malignant peers, not excepting those of new creation, whose titles had not been acknowledged by the Parliament:

Meeting of Parliament.

The Parliament, composed of two houses, having met on the day appointed, the twenty-fifth of April, the Lords chose the earl of Manchester for their speaker, and the Commons Sir Harbottle Grimstone, one of the leaders of the Presbyterian party ; who, from a warm opposer of the late King, was become as warm a partisan of his son. The Lords were not deficient in the cant of the times, seeking the Lord's blessing on interested views of private good and public evil *. A message to this purport was sent to the Commons ; and the ensuing Monday was the time appointed for a day of fasting and humiliation. Monk, the great instrument of this revolution, was not forgotten : His command of captain-general of all the land-forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, was confirmed by both houses ; and Grimstone, the speaker, whose powers of oratory

* After the last interruption of the famous Long Parliament, colonel Sydenham, in the council of state, made a speech in vindication of the proceedings of the army ; in which he endeavored to prove, that they were necessitated to make use of this last remedy, by a particular call of the Divine Providence. On this, president Bradshaw, though very weak and much emaciated with long sickness, stood up, and interrupting Sydenham, declared with warmth his abhorrence of the detestable action. He moreover told the council, he had not patience to hear the great name of God so openly blasphemed. The good man, after this, withdrew from the assembly, and from all public employment ; and a very few weeks after, had the happy fortune to be released by death from the present evil of the times, and the mischievous consequences which attended them. *Ludlow.*

were

were similar to his own, thanked him, in the name of the Commons, for conquering theirs and the kingdoms enemies without a bloody nose †. The Lords were not behind-hand in their compliments: They sent a committee to acknowledge the grateful sense of their body for the obligation of restoring them to their antient and undoubted rights, and added their hopes, that God would still bless him in the use of all means for the procuring a safe and well-grounded peace, according to the antient fundamental government of the nation, wherein they should employ their counsels and utmost endeavors for a concurrence *.

Though it was generally understood that the restoration of the Stewarts was to be effected, this was the first open avowal of any such design. The great business of the settlement of the nations was to be debated on the first of May, to which day the house of Commons adjourned. Sir John Grenville had been in London some days with a commission from Charles Stewart, appointing Monk captain-general of all the forces in the three nations, and with letters to the house of Peers, the house of Commons, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of the city of London, and to general Monk, to be communicated to the president and council of state, and officers under his

Both houses receive letters from Charles, with a declaration of favor and grace.

† At this time, colonel Ingoldsby received a compliment of thanks from the Commons. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXII. p. 235.

* Monk, in his answer, desired the Lords to look forward, not backward, in the transacting affairs. *Parl. Hist.* vol XXII. p. 229, & seq.

command,

Ann. 1660. command †. Charles Stewart sent also a general declaration to the whole empire, in which he offers a free and general pardon under the great seal of England to all his subjects who should return to their allegiance, except those who should be hereafter proscribed by parliament; declares a liberty of conscience to all who did not disturb the public peace; leaves the settlement of property to parliament *; and promises

† Monk, to carry on his dissimulation to the last, appointed Sir John Grenville to deliver him his letter at the door of the council-chamber. Grenville, according to previous direction, asked one of the members of the council to introduce him to the general. Monk came to the door, and in the sight of the attending guards, received the dispatch, and looking at the seal ordered the guards to secure Grenville; who, on examination, told the council, that he had received all the letters from the hands of Charles Stewart. The opening of the others was deferred till the re-meeting of Parliament; and, to preserve appearances, Monk gave in bail for his kinsman Grenville, that he should appear before that assembly. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXII. p. 235, & seq.

* Clarendon, whose want of judgment ever betrays him into indiscreet confessions, informs us of the principle on which this declaration and letters were drawn up. Both himself and master highly disliked the satisfying all interests, and the complying with all humors, as they termed it, or a general act of oblivion; but as a seeming compliance must be given to Monk's counsel, who was well acquainted with the expectations of that party who were alone able to restore Charles to the crown, after mature deliberation on the confidence had in the general election, and in some particular persons who were already chosen, he left all those things which, in the present circumstances, he could not reserve to himself, to the Parliament, upon presumption that they would not exact more from him than he was willing to assent to; and that there must be another kind of parliament, to confirm all which this had done, otherwise this assembly could not be safe or himself obliged. This is the confession of Clarendon, and fully exposes that corruption of heart, and that want of sincerity in himself and master, which a wiser man would with the utmost care have concealed. *Clar. Hist.* vol. III. p. 576, & seq.

to the army all their arrears, and to continue Ann. 1669. them in the same pay and conditions they at present did enjoy.

These letters and this declaration, were drawn up according to general instructions which had been given by Monk; who now regarding matters to be ripe for the full completion of his schemes, introduced Sir John Grenville to the Commons, by the mouth of Annesley, the president of the council of state. The house, on the information that Sir John Grenville was at the door, with a letter from Charles Stewart, ordered him an immediate admission. The letters and declaration were read. In that to the Commons, Charles expresses very warm affection to Parliaments; and, with as much truth and sincerity, tells them, he had strong assurances of foreign assistance, which he should decline, upon confidence that they would not abuse the trust he had put in them. Loud were the acclamations which followed the perusal of these papers. It was immediately resolved, that an answer be prepared to his majesty's letter, expressing the great and joyful sense of the house, respecting his gracious offers, and their humble and hearty thanks to his majesty for the same, with professions of their loyalty and duty to his majesty. It was resolved, that the sum of fifty thousand pounds should be presented to the king's majesty from the house; and the committee, appointed to draw up an answer to the letter, were ordered to go to the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council, to consider with them how to raise the said sum of fifty thousand pounds, and a farther sum to be applied to the paying the army, with their arrears.

Ann. 1660. arrears *. The Lords were as forward as the Commons in their high expressions of gratitude,

* The conduct of the Commons, in this delicate point of accepting as a favor from Charles Stewart, what the security and the honor of the nation required to be the effect of their own authority, surpassed the expectation of the most sanguine Royalist, and of Charles himself. Clarendon, on this occasion, expresses himself in the following manner: " This kind reception was beyond what the best-affected, nay, even the King, could expect or hope; and all that followed went in the same pace." Thurloe, in a letter to Downing, says, that though the Parliament would endeavor to settle the nation by the King, yet great difficulties would attend it. Mordaunt, on a presumption that terms would certainly be insisted on, advised him to make no hesitation, but to accept the first that were offered. Sir William Killigrew, who appears to be the most sensible and honest man of the royal party, and who had taken great pains to persuade the late king to close with the terms offered by the parliament, on the same presumption, wrote a long letter to Charles Stewart, wherein he advised him to throw himself into the arms of his people, and rely on such conditions as they should think fit for their King in honor to accept; and endeavors to persuade him that, if the strictest limitations were insisted on, it would render his government more easy, and prevent the general discontent which must arise from the disappointment of a multitude of individuals, whom it would be impossible to satisfy. The lord Jermyn, though a domestic servant of the queen, was not so entirely void of love to his country, as to wish Charles to come in without conditions; and it was the general opinion, that if Monk had suffered the matter to have come into debate, the more sober part of the house would have prevailed over the headstrong zeal of the Cavaliers. This was much dreaded by Charles and his two counsellors, Ormond and Hyde; whose future fortunes, and even their return to their country, in a great measure depended on Charles's restoration without conditions. A letter was dispatched to Morrice, who had already the promise of the offer of secretary of state, in which Charles charges him and the general to take care, that no advantage was taken against him from the temper and condescension of his friends in the house, according to the desire of the general, either to the dispatch of what was necessary, or to the setting on foot any inconvenient demands, which must be very inconvenient to him, and lessen that joy with which his people and

duty, and obedience. After the perusal of ^{Ann. 1660.} their letter, Sir John Grenville was called, and received from the mouth of the speaker, the thanks of the house for his care in delivering the gracious message; which, with the declaration, was ordered to be printed and published, with the title of, His Majesty's gracious Letter and Declaration, sent to the House of Peers by Sir John Grenville, Knt. A committee was appointed to consider of a letter of thanks; and the house passed a vote, that, according to the antient and fundamental laws of the kingdom, the government is and ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons.

The lords
vote that the
government
of England
shall be by
king, lords,
and com-
mons.

Both houses
proclaim
Charles
Stewart
king, and
invite him
to resume
the govern-
ment, with-
out making
any stipula-
tions for the
people.

Carte:

In the midst of this epidemical madness, there were not wanting men, even of the royal party, who saw and deplored the miseries which these monarchical enthusiasts were bringing on their country. Sir Matthew Hale, who is allowed by the Cavalier party to have been a man of exemplary piety and moderation, of good affections towards the restoration of Charles Stewart, and unexceptionable in all points of his character, moved in the house of Commons, that they should consider on what conditions

and he should meet to receive those great blessings God Almighty was ready to pour upon them. If any indisposition of the army, he said, made it less fit for Monk to appear in pressing that which was most desirable, they might easily get it promoted by the houses, to which the general and the army were obliged to submit. This letter finishes with an exhortation, that every thing might be done to bring Charles speedily home, which, he said, could alone prevent the many designs on foot against the peace and honor of the nation. *Clar. Hist. vol. III. p. 590. Carte, vol. II. p. 199. - Thurloe's State Papers, vol. VII. p. 888, 913. Guthrie, vol. III. p. 1368.*

Charles

Ann. 1660. Charles should be restored; but Monk, who had now brought matters to the desired issue, rose up, and, with an air of authority, put a stop to the entering on the debate, by telling the house, that if they went on that business he could not answer for the army *. There were

Ludlow.

* It has been a question much agitated by the different historians and memoir-writers, what was the real design of Monk on his first engaging against the military government, which took place after the second interruption of the Parliament. His two biographers, Gumble and Price, with the intention of raising his character, assure us, that he was already engaged to the royal party before he left Scotland, and had held a treasonable correspondence with the conspirators of Sir George Booth's party. These panegyrists recount the many instances of his black treachery, and base dissimulation, as laudable strokes of deep policy; and, though divines, they roundly tell us, that it is lawful to do the greatest evil that good may come of it. Other writers think that Monk had no settled purpose of restoring Charles Stewart, till he found the current of the times turn that way, and that he could not then resist it, consistent with the views of self-interest, a principle by which he was well known to be very strongly actuated. Some, on the testimony of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, entertain the notion that his ambition soared to the setting up himself. Cooper having had intelligence from Monk's wife, a vehement Royalist, that such a bargain had been made between her husband and the French ambassador, assumes the merit of defeating the intended treachery, by a judicious and timely change of some of the head officers in the army. Whatever truth there may be in this anecdote of the French ambassador's proposal, or whatever hopes, inclinations, and intentions such a proposal might suddenly occasion in so selfish a mind, it appears very plain, from the whole tenor of Monk's conduct, that his design, when he left Scotland, was, if opportunity favored, to set the liberties of his country to sale, and to make a mercenary bargain with Charles Stewart. His original connections were with the Royalists; he had ever favored that party in Scotland; and his vices were of that abject kind, which naturally seek for protection from a court. His wife also, a sempstress by trade, whom he married whilst he was a prisoner in the Tower, had a mercenary selfish temper, which would have disgraced any rank in life; and so violently bigoted to

the

some attempts made by several members after ^{Ann. 1660.} this to consider on limitations and conditions; but finding the tide strongly against them, and that Monk gave intelligence to Charles Stewart and his creatures of every thing that was said on that subject, they were obliged to give up the point, and leave to Monk the reputation which he had from the first affected, of being the prime instrument in sacrificing his associates to the malignity of an enraged party, and prostrating the Liberties of his country to be trampled on by a profligate individual *.

the Stewart family, that Monk, who stood in great awe of her, used to tell Price, that nothing could ruin him but the indiscreet zeal of his wife. However, by the time she came to London, she had so far learnt the habit of dissimulation, as to talk much of self-denial to the wives of the members of parliament who came to visit her, and how greatly it was in her husband's heart that the government might be settled in a Commonwealth; but notwithstanding the joint inclinations of Monk and his wife to serve Charles Stewart, they managed matters in a manner to turn with the tide, if it took another course. The Royalists complained, that he would play fast and loose with all men, and had no hearty dependance on him to the last. All parties agree, except a few of the weakest of the idolizers of monarchy, that he was a man of dull and heavy parts (for the whole system of his treachery was conducted by other instruments); of an abject, mercenary, and rapacious disposition; of a nature void of humanity, justice, generosity, and honor; that he had no principles but what were founded in interest, and was an instrument which would have reflected disgrace even on a good cause. *Price. Gumble. Locke's Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury. Ludlow. Thurlow's State Papers.*

* Gumble says, Monk sent a message to the King, that he would restore him with the hazard of his life, and that without any previous conditions; he being such an adorer of majesty, that he would not endure to see it shackled with any limitations or exceptions; so that he should return a free and absolute monarch to his native kingdoms. To these professions, it may not be improper to subjoin the protestations, yet unrelated, which this infamous dissembler made of his adherence to Commonwealth

Ann. 1660.

The business of the two houses, was now to vie with each other in a total neglect of the dearest interests of their country, and in expressions of loyalty to Charles Stewart. Conferences were held between the Lords and Commons, to consider on means to bring back the people to their old state of vassalage ; or, in the language of the times, to unite the head to its members. Charles's letter to the Peers, was, by order of that house,

The Commons agree with the Lords in their resolution to restore the monarchy. read to the Commons ; who resolved, that they did agree with the Lords, and did declare, that, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the government is and ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons. Sir John Grenville, who had been for the space of ten years imprisoned, for being a partisan of the Stewarts, and who, but three months before, would

monwealth principles. To several of the Republican members, who called on him after the intrusion of the Presbyterians, to satisfy them of the reasons of such proceedings, he declared, with many solemn protestations of his steadfast adherence to a Republican form of government, that the permission he had given those members to enter the house was only to rid himself of their importunity ; but he would take effectual care to prevent their doing any hurt. On their demanding of him, if he would join with them against Charles Stewart and his party, he applied himself to Sir Arthur Haslerig, and said, " Sir Arthur, I have often declared to you my resolution so to do." Then taking off his glove, and putting his hand within Sir Arthur's, added, " I do here protest to you, in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost the setting up Charles Stewart, or any other person." The same professions, and in the same solemn manner, he made to others ; and he told Ludlow, that he would live and die for a Commonwealth ; and if the secluded members should attempt to bring in Charles Stewart, though he had as much respect for parliaments as any man, he would give them an interruption ; and that his public protestations and declarations bound him to act against the restoration of monarchy. *Gumble's Life of Monk.* *Ludlow,* p. 313, 318, 325, & seq.

have

have been put to death for bringing such a letter, was not only thanked for his services, but was complimented with five hundred pounds to buy him a jewel*. Ann. 1660.

Both houses were for some time anxiously employed in drawing up their answers to the letters they had received from Breda. The Lords, after acknowledgments of gratitude for Charles's gracious letter and declaration, and bemoaning that impotence which had so long prevented them from serving him, according to their duty and allegiance, ended their letter with saying, that they did own a more particular dependence, and subserviency to the throne of majesty, than any other of his subjects. The Commons, after more fulsome expressions of acknowledgments for the favor of their message, and the declaration, tell Charles, that they will never depart from the fidelity they did owe him, the zeal they did bear to his service, and a constant endeavor to advance his honor and greatness. They vindicated the last Parliament, when unviolated, from the death of the late King; and said, they could not think of that horrid act

Servility
and zeal of
both houses.

* The speaker, in this complimentary address, told Grenville, That it was unnecessary to make mention with what grateful and thankful hearts the Commons assembled in parliament had received his majesty's most gracious letter; that *res ipse loquitur*: " You yourself, said he, have been *ocularis & auricularis testis de rei veritate*: Our bells and our bonfires have already proclaimed his majesty's goodness and our joys. We have told the people, that our King, the glory of England, is coming home again, and they have resounded it back again in our ears, that they are ready, and their hearts are open to receive him. Both parliament and people have called aloud to the King of Kings in their prayers, Long live king Charles the Second!" *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXII. p. 262.

Ann. 1650. committed against the precious life of their sovereign but with such a detestation and abhorrency, as they did want words to express ; an act which would never be remembered by them but with that grief and trouble of mind which it did deserve ; being the greatest reproach that ever was incurred by any of the English nation ; an offence to all the Protestant churches abroad, and a scandal to the profession of the truth of religion at home ; though both profession and true professors, Nation and Parliament, were most innocent, it having been only the contrivance and act of some few ambitious and bloody persons, and such others as by their influence were misled. They added, that they should immediately apply themselves to those things he had recommended to them, and would do what befited dutiful, loving, and loyal subjects, who were yet more engaged to honor and highly esteem him, for his declining, as he was pleased to say, all foreign assistance. They ended their long letter with a compliment to Charles for his having continued so unshaken in his faith, that neither the temptation of allurements, and persuasions of seducing Papists on the one hand, nor the persecution and hard usage of seduced Protestants on the other, could at all prevail upon him to forsake the God of his fathers, and the true Protestant religion, in which he had been bred* ; a circumstance which had been an af-

* Bishop Burnet, on private intelligence from cardinal De Retz, a great confidant of the Stewarts, says, that both Charles and his brother had changed their religion, before they left Paris ; and asserts, that though it was carried secretly, and confidently denied, yet Charles, when at the Pyrenees, to recommend himself the more effectually to the French and Spa-

urance to the faithful in the land, that, after ^{Ann. 1660.} many trials, which would make him more precious, as gold out of the fire, God would restore him to his patrimony and people, with more splendor and dignity*.

If the Lords were at all deficient in words, they were determined to be before-hand with the Commons in action: An order was made in their house, that the statues of the late King's majesty should be set up again, in all the places from whence they were pulled down; that the arms of the commonwealth should be demolished and taken away wherever they were; that the

nish courts, went privately to mass. Clarendon, though he always insists upon Charles's invariable constancy to the Protestant faith, yet asserts that all his court were inclined to Popery. "As for the King's religion, said Marchmont Nedham, if any, it is at best, you know, but a devotion to prelacy, which was bequeathed to him in legacy; for he forfeited all his coronation oaths and protestations to the Scotch nation, with all his other pretences of religion, before he left that country. What profession he hath since owned abroad, hath for reasons of state, been kept very close." *Interest will not lye*, 4to ed: London, 1659.

* Clarendon, who often attempts to be satirical on the Presbyterians, but, without meaning it, is always so on the Cavaliers, observes, that the Presbyterians, of whom there were many members in parliament, though they were rather troublesome than powerful, seemed very solicitous that somewhat should be concluded in veneration of the covenant; and, at least, that somewhat should be inserted in their answer, to discountenance bishops; but the warmer zeal of the house threw away all these formalities and affectations: They said, they had proceeded too far already, in their vote upon the receipt of the letter, to fall back again, and to offend the King with colder expressions of their duty; but in the end, after some days debate, finding an equal impatience without the walls, to that within the house, they were content to gratify the Presbyterians in the length of their answer, and to use some expressions which would please them and do the King no prejudice. *Clar. Hist. vol. III. p. 591.*

Ann. 1660. King's majesty should be prayed for by all ministers in their churches ; that some place should be considered of, where general Monk's statue might be set up † ; and that a stop should be put to demolishing and defacing, or committing waste in the lands, parks, or woods, belonging to the King, the duke of Buckingham, and other peers. The Lords afterwards repealed the vote passed in 1642, against the nine peers for deserting their seats in parliament, and continuing with the late King at York. They appointed a committee, to consider and take information where any of the King's goods, jewels, or pictures, were removed, and to advise of some course how the same might be replaced ; and the Commons, following them close in all their loyal transactions, resolved, that in all cases where the great-seal of England was used, proceedings should go in the King's name ; that all the ministers throughout the kingdoms of England, Ireland, the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, should pray for Charles, by the name of our Sovereign Lord Charles, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c. and for the most illustrious prince James, and all the royal progeny ; that they should on Thursday, the day appointed for

† Gumble says, that the zeal of the house of Commons would have led them to have offered some signal memorial for an eternal remembrance of the general's service ; but it was thought by his friends, best to leave a business of that nature to his majesty's bounty : " For, says Gumble, kings are like gods, who love not to encourage pride, and the bold challenges of pretended deservers." This high-flown monarchy-writer had been employed as chaplain to the council of the two Cromwells. *Price.*

a thanks-

a thanksgiving, for raising up his excellency ^{Ann. 1660.} the lord-general and other eminent persons, who had been instrumental in the delivery of this nation from thraldom and misery, return thanks to Almighty God for his majesty's several gracious letters, &c. and for the hearty, loyal, and dutiful conjunction of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, and the universal concurrence of all the commanders and forces by land and sea, to receive his majesty into his dominions and government. A declaration was also ordered, to give notice to the people that there would be no proceedings in Westminster-Hall on the next Easter-term, upon causes depending in any of the courts, till the two last returns of the said term. To complete the blessings of this hopeful revolution, and that they might without reserve give up every advantage which had been gained by the long and bloody contest between the crown and people, and take off every restraint from evil governors, in the form of proclamation, which both houses agreed on for the proclaiming Charles their King, a ceremony performed on the eighth of May, with great state, the Lords and Commons attending *, they acknowledged, that it could no way be doubted that his majesty's right and title to this crown and these kingdoms, were

* Gumble, in his style of rhapsody, says, that the people did hear this proclamation as if it had proceeded out of the mouth of God; that all the Tower-guns were shot off, all the streets filled with bonfires, the air with the sound of bells; yet all was short of the universal joy which filled mens' hearts, whose very judgments were changed; not an enemy to majesty could be found any where; and those who were supposed such, avowed the greatest loyalty, and were not the last or least in making high expressions of joy. *Gumble*, p. 279, & seq.

Ann. 1660. every way completed by the death of his most royal father, of glorious memory, by inherent birth-right, without the ceremony of a proclamation.

Servility of
the city.

The city of London, that centre of all the wicked cabals which had produced the return of national slavery, was as forward as the Parliament in offering servile incense to the newly-established idol. In their letter to the King, they thank him for descending so far, as to impart to them his benign declaration of grace extended to his subjects in general; a grace they did not presume to think themselves entitled to, on any other account than that of his gracious inclinations. They confessed, that all those manifestations of their affections, for which his majesty was pleased to put those signal marks of favor, were but a partial payment of their duty to his majesty's rights, as his subjects, and his virtues as Christians. They blessed God for inclining the hearts of both houses of Parliament to express their joyful sense of, and their humble and hearty thanks for, his majesty's gracious offers, and to profess their loyalty and duty to his majesty; and they desired that the city's entire and unanimous concurrence therein might in its place find his gracious acceptance; a favor, which they hoped his majesty would give them leave in all humility to claim, when he had seen their inclosed declaration and vindication, which their innocence and affections warranted them to publish to the world, before they received the honor and encouragement of his majesty's letter *. With this adulatory

* The city were in such good humor with this Parliament, who were laying deep the foundations of slavery, that they paid the

address, the city sent a more substantial token ^{Ann. 1660.} of their zeal, in a present of twelve thousand pounds, to the King and his brothers; which, they told him, was extremely disproportional to his royal dignity, and the measure of their zeal for his service*.

The army and navy, by the influence of their commanders, had published declarations of their dependence and obedience. The abject vice of servility, grew every day with the acknowledged, and to all human foresight, permanent, power of the crown. All parties, whose conduct in the foregoing revolutions allowed them any probability of obtaining favor or mercy, vied with each other in the largeness of their offerings, and the early tender of their devotions to the shrine of majesty. Among others, the time-serving Lenthal, who had already so far made his peace with the Presbyterians, as to be re-invested in the office of chamberlain of Chester, commissioned a friend to present the King with three thousand pounds, and to request the favor that he might continue master of the Rolls. Charles's court at Breda was crowded with protesting subjects. The submission of his converted kingdoms, was followed by a very different treatment from what he had received, when a necessitous exile. Spain sent a pressing invitation

the house of Commons the compliment, to ask their permission to return an answer to the King's letter and declaration, which was granted in form. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXII. p. 259, 269.

* These supplies were the more acceptable, as, according to Clarendon, the old Royalists had so despaired of Charles's ever having it in his power to reward their services, that they had discontinued their remittances for some years. *Clar. Hist.* vol. III. p. 588.

Ann. 1660. that he would return to the Low-Countries, and embark in one of their maritime towns ; France professed a warm affection and regard, and offered Calais for the same purpose ; and the States-General, who regarded their interests as inseparable to the monarchy of England, and who trembled at the very idea of an English Republic, paid him the same compliment. The security of the Dutch commonwealth, as a distinct state, in a great measure depending on his restoration, Charles had reason to suppose their professions to be cordial and sincere * ; he therefore accepted of their offer. As he passed from Breda to the Hague, he was gratified with the

* The Dutch, pursuing their welfare as a state, had ever, as far as their safety would permit, supported the interests of the Stewart family ; and, after the Republic was established in the power of the Parliament, had used their utmost endeavor to excite Cromwell to destroy that power, and set up for himself. They alone owed their existence as a distinct state, to the success of such an enterprize. Carte, a high flown Royalist, owns that the Dutch dreaded nothing so much as an English commonwealth ; that De Wit, their best politician, was not only heartily inclined to Charles's restoration, but had offered, in the name of the States, their utmost endeavor to effect it, whenever France would enter into a conjunction for that purpose. We smile at the pompous Clarendon ; but with some astonishment see him followed by the more judicious Mr. Hume, in the following description of the joy expressed by the Dutch, when the English had again submitted to the yoke. " As Charles passed from Breda to the Hague, says this writer, he was attended with numerous crouds, and was received with the loudest acclamations ; as if themselves, not their rivals in power and commerce, were now restored to peace and security." Did Mr. Hume intend to deceive his short-sighted readers by this description of Dutch sentiment ? Is it possible that so obvious a truth should have escaped his penetration, that it was from the jealousy of rivals, not the cordiality of friends, that the exultations of the Dutch arose ? *Carte's Life of Ormeau*, vol. II. p. 182, 195. *Hume's Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. II. p. 116.

adulation

adulation of Dutchmen of all distinctions ; and when arrived at this town, the States-General in a body, and afterwards the states of Holland apart, performed their compliments with high solemnity. Here, all the ambassadors and public ministers of every court and state in Europe, repaired to him, and testified the joy of their sovereigns on the unexpected turn of his fortune ; here, every private person of distinction shewed themselves ambitious to be introduced ; and the English continued to resort in such numbers, that it was with difficulty they could be entertained in the town.

Whilst Charles, after so long a fast, was enjoying the recovered sweets of royalty, the house of Commons were preparing bills for the security of the authority of both houses as a Parliament ; for the security of those who had purchased lands on titles depending on the late revolutions ; and for the taking away the tenures *in capite* by knights service, soccage *in capite*, and the Court of Wards, on the consideration of one hundred thousand pounds, which they were to allow the crown in lieu of this prerogative. The Commons passed a vote similar to the Lords, touching the putting up the King's arms in the place of those of the Commonwealth, and set the example by altering the arms over their speaker's chair. The Lords, on their return to the exercise of authority, having assumed high pretensions of superiority *, there was some dif-

Ann. 1660.
Charles re-
moves from
Breda to the
Hague,
where he
receives the
compli-
ments of
the several
powers of
Europe on
his change
of fortune.

* The Commons having directed, that, in the ceremony used in proclaiming the King, the president of the council of state should go immediately after the lords-commissioners of the great seal, this was taken notice of as a breach of privilege, and the matter was ordered to be referred to the same committee.

They

Ann. 1660. ference between them and the Commons concerning the present use of the great-seal * ; but as all considerations gave way to the great object of the King's return, matters were soon adjusted, and both houses applied themselves solely to the business of electing committees to carry their letters to the King, and to invite him to a speedy return to his kingdoms.

Great preparations to receive the King.

The zeal of the Commons waxed hotter and hotter every day †. Five thousand pounds were first voted, then another five, as a present to the duke of York ; with five thousand pounds to the duke of Gloucester ; orders were given that the Scotch colors taken at Dunbar and Worcester should be forthwith removed ; that Whitehall and the Meuse should be cleared of all soldiers and lodgers, excepting those who were attendant upon the council of state ; and

They appointed a committee to consider what ordinances had been made since they were voted useless, which did now pass for acts, and that they should draw up and prepare a bill to repeal what the Lords should think fit. By the advice of their committee for privileges, they added to their roll of orders, that, when a message was brought from the house of Commons, their speaker should go to the bar to receive it, the rest of the Lords sitting in their places. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXII.

* The Lords were averse to the using the great-seal of the commonwealth, though, as it was alleged by the Commons, no public business could be transacted without it, even the officers to collect the excise and customs not caring to act without orders in the usual form. In regard to the persons whom the Commons inclined to entrust with the great-seal, Ludlow says, that all agreed in Mr. Tyrrell ; but it was objected against Sir Jeant Fountain, that though he had been formerly for the King, he had of late shewn himself a great promoter of the reformation of the law. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXII. p. 278, 280, & seq. *Ludlow*, p. 343.

† “ The nation, says Gumble, were like men in a fever, restless and without ease, till a royal physician arrived.” *Gumble's Life of Monk*, p. 290.

from

from this time to the King's return, the house of Commons, on whose resolutions for some years past had depended the fate of nations, were solely employed in preparing household furniture and other costly matters for the King's journey and reception. Magnificent beds, quilts, blankets, linen, chairs, robes ^{Ann. 1660.} *, plate, sweet powder, washing of linen, and the like, diet for a week at the expence of fifty-three pounds a-day, yachts, barges, coaches, a choice noise of trumpets, not even forgetting necessary-stools, came under the consideration of this grave assembly, and were voted to be defrayed at the cost of the public. And to the great ease of those burthens, of which they had so unjustly complained under the economical and prosperous government of the Republican Parliament, and as a prelude to what they were to hope of abatement of pecuniary grievances in the restoration of monarchy, the people were now assed with the additional sum of seventy thousand pounds for three months †, to discharge the expence of bringing over and providing for the reception of their idol. The arrears of former assessments, and the assessment of one hundred thousand pounds a-month, were continued to be levied; and a poll-tax, ^{Large assessments.} ^{A poll-tax.} to the value of four hundred thousand pounds,

^{**} The estimate of the expence of the robes of ermine, with a crown and sceptre, was nine hundred pounds. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXII. p. 289.

[†] In this ordinance for three months assessment, the Commons ordered, that all the titles of honor received from the late protectors, Oliver and Richard, or from Henry Cromwell, by any person appointed a commissioner, should be struck out. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXII. p. 297.

was

Ann. 1660. was laid on the subject, on the pretence of payment of the army, and their arrears. The only serious matter transacted during the intermediate time, was the bill of indemnity: Nine of the late King's judges were excepted in this act; the persons and estates of all but colonel Ingoldsby and colonel Tomlinson were voted to be secured, with the persons of Sir John Cooke (solicitor for the commonwealth), Andrew Broughton, John Phelps, and Edward Dendy, two who were employed for the execution of the King, one Matthew, who boasted he was an instrument in it, and of cornet Joice, who seized upon the person of the King when at Holdenby. The ports were ordered to be stopped, the transportation of money or bullion prohibited, and great care was taken by the old and new courtiers, that none of those resolute, but now unhappy, reformers should escape *.

Though the Commons had sent up these votes to the Lords for their concurrence, yet that assembly, on the plea that judicature belonged solely to them, issued out an order of

* Notwithstanding these violent proceedings, Monk had told the lord Say, that if he should suffer any exceptions to the act of indemnity, he should be the arrantest rogue that ever lived. Sir Charles Coote, that perfidious traitor, who thought he could never do enough to erase the memory of his former conduct out of the minds of the new government, began the preparation to the bloody scene which followed, by seizing on the person of Sir John Cooke in Ireland. He also, before he had the sanction of parliamentary authority, made seizure of all Ludlow's effects in Ireland, to the amount of fifteen hundred pounds, forced his tenants to pay their rents to him, and forbade his servants to dispose of any stock without his orders. *Ludlow, p. 344.*

their

their own to the same purport; and took no ^{Ann. 1660.} more notice of the votes of the Commons, than as complaints to their house. The Commons, with much more justice, remonstrated against this, as a glaring intrenchment on their privileges; one of their own members, colonel Hutchinson, being of the proscribed number; but they were passive enough, in this time of eager expectation, to put up with the affront, on the general compliment, that their Lordships would be careful to preserve the privileges of both houses, and a good correspondence between them.

The committees sent by the Lords and Commons to the King, had been elected by ballot, according to the manner of electing all the councils of state. The committee from the upper house, were the earls of Oxford, Warwick, and Middlesex, the lord-viscount Hereford, the lord Berkley of Berkley-Castle, and the lord Brooke. Those from the Commons, were the lords Falkland, Fairfax, Mandeville, Bruce, ^{P. 600.} Charles, at the Hague, receives a deputation from the Parliament, the city, the church, and the Presbyterian clergy. Clar. Hist. vol. III. lords Herbert, Castleton, Sir George Booth, Sir John Holland, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Sir Horatio Townsendl, Sir Henry Cholmley, Mr. Holles. These commissioners were accompanied by deputies, to the number of fourteen of the most substantial citizens, from the city of London; by Reynolds, Calamy, Case, Boweles and Manton, the four popular preachers of that body, from the Presbyterian clergy; and by Dr. Barwick, fraught with instructions from the few remaining bishops, who had so absolutely despised of such a revolution, that, to avoid incurring punishment for an unnecessary service, they, to the great terror of the episcopalians,

Ann. 1660. episcopalian, lest that order should be extinct, and the sanctity and divine appointment transmitted by hands be utterly lost, had neglected to ordain any bishops, notwithstanding reiterated importunities from the zealous Hyde, and express directions from the King.

Mountague
carries over
the fleet to
the king.

Mountague, to render himself of as much consequence in the restoration, as opportunity would admit, after having discharged from the service all those who were well affected to Republican government, even before the last parliament were assembled, sent a message to Charles Stewart by his cousin Edward Mountague, that he was ready to obey any of his commands; and that it might appear an act of his own, and distinct from his obedience to the government, without waiting for the commands of Parliament, he sailed off with the fleet for the coast of Holland, and was in sight of Scheveling a few days after the King's arrival at the Hague. From the time the fleet was in the King's possession, to the coming of the English commissioners, the employment of himself and brother James, whom he had appointed lord-high-admiral, was the new-christening the ships, as Clarendon terms it; *i. e.* taking from them the odious names of the Victory, the Triumph, the Naseby, &c. which might help to preserve the memory of the glorious Republic, and bestowing on them the harmless innoxious appellations of the Catherine, the Fubbs, and the like.

All things were now ready for the grand embarkment of Charles and his retinue, to visit his new-acquired kingdom. The commissioners had received their audience, and the King his invitation. The deputies from the city of London

don were all knighted, to the great delight of ^{Ann. 1660.} that ever-memorable body, who had been deprived of these significant honors for the space of near twenty years. Not so well pleased were the deputies from the Presbyterian clergy ; who, after receiving cold thanks for their good behavior, and being told that his majesty would be gracious enough to forbear imposing hard conditions on their consciences, and would leave the settling differences in religion to the wisdom of Parliament, on their presuming to press him, by the merits of the pains they had taken for his restoration, not to resume in his chapel, entirely and formally, the use of the Book of Prayer, which had for many years been laid aside, nor the surplice, they were answered, with some marks of royal indignation, by this covenanting king, who had taken so many solemn oaths in Scotland agreeable to what was now asked, that he would not be restrained himself, when he gave others so much liberty ; that he thought the form of service to which they objected, was the best in the world, and had never discontinued it in places where it was more disliked, than he hoped it was by them ; that when he came to England, he would not severely enquire how it was used in other churches, though he doubted not he should find it used in many, but he was sure he would have no other observed in his own chapel ; that the surplice had always been held a decent habit in the church, till these late ill times ; and that though he was bound for the present to tolerate much disorder and indecency in the exercise of God's worship, he would never in the least degree, by his own practice, dis-
countenance

Ann. 1660. countenance the good old order in the church in which he had been bred.

The king and his retinue embarked for England. After ten days spent in triumphs and festivals, the King embarked on board the Naseby, now distinguished by the appellation of the Royal Charles. With the rest of the fleet, on the four-and-twentieth day of May, he set sail for England; and, in the midst of one continued thunder of cannon, arrived and disembarked at Dover on the twenty-sixth. At Dover he was received by general Monk, accompanied with a guard of horse, and with the duke of Richmond, the earls of Northampton, Cleveland, the lord Gerrard, and Sir John Robinson, one of the new city knights, their followers having been marshalled by Monk in distinct troops. Monk had the honor of a royal embrace, and the George and Garter, which were put on by the dukes of York and Gloucester. From Dover the King went to Canterbury, where he lay one night, at Rochester another, and reached London on the twenty-ninth. In London, preparations were made, by the two houses of Parliament (who, on the news of his landing, had broken to pieces the great-seal of the Commonwealth *), by the city, by the commanders of the army, and by private individuals, for the receiving him with the highest degree of pomp and magnificence †.

His triumphant entry into the city of London, and procession to Whitehall;

* The Lords sent him a letter, humbly to offer, as his faithful council, that he would so consult the safety of his royal person, in which they were highly concerned, that in his return to London its security might be preferred to all external considerations. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXII. p. 307.

† The following is the account which Gumble, who attended his patron Monk, gives of the King's landing at Dover.

After a very tedious cavalcade, through in- Ann. 1660.
credible crouds of spectators, the soldiery riding

Dover, and the public entry he afterwards made through the city of London,

Gumble says, he was the third person who had the honor to kiss the hem of his majesty's garment ; a favor of which he begs leave to boast a little ; and then pursuing his narrative, acquaints us, That the town of Dover had provided a canopy ; that the mayor, aldermen, and their minister, with a large Bible with gold clasps, embossed, received his majesty on the beach ; that the parson was the spokesman, who would have been longer in his speech, but was interrupted by Monk, who suggested that Dover was not commodious for such a resort. Gumble's narrative is likewise interrupted, by an apology for the dullness and meanness of his pen, which, he says, is not florid or rhetorical enough to describe the glory of the King's passage to London ; that it was one of the greatest glories the general could reap, to be the instrument, if not the author, of this most glorious cavalcade and solemnity ; that people of all degrees thronged all the road from Dover to London, and placed themselves upon hillocks and trees to see this blessed sight, being ready to sing their *Nunc Dimitis*, even willing to depart in peace, now their eyes had seen the salvation of their country. After this and several other flourishes of a like nature, the author informs us, that the King hastened to be at London on the twenty-ninth of May, that he might make the day of his birth the more remarkable for his glorious return to his kingdom ; that many bonfires flamed as he passed in the way, as if the sun wanted light to gild the glories of that day ; the bells ringing, and the people with the loudest acclamations welcoming and praying for him ; the young virgins strewing the way with herbs and flowers, and all the gaieties that art, nature, or cost could provide ; that at Blackheath the army were drawn up, and there expressed their dutiful allegiance in an humble address, offering to sacrifice their lives or whatsoever could be more dear to them for his service, against whatsoever opposers, and said they would shew their obedience better in their actions than in words ; that at St. George's Fields the lord-mayor and aldermen had pitched a glorious tent, and provided a sumptuous collation, and there, upon their knees, did their duties.

After a short stay among these dutiful citizens, Gumble tells us, that his majesty hasted to see Whitehall, being glutted with the ceremonies of the day ; that the streets through which he passed were richly adorned with tapestry ; that the conduits

Ann. 1660. with their drawn swords through the city to Whitehall, headed by Monk and the duke of

flowed with the richest wines ; that every window was filled with numbers of spectators, and scaffolds built for that purpose ; that on one side of the streets attended the train-band forces, and on the other the several companies in their liveries, to Temple-Bar ; from Temple-Bar to Whitehall, the train-bands of Westminster and the companies of the army, to whom were joined a company of the late King's officers, commanded by Sir John Stawell ; that the procession was led by major-general Brown, whose troop of three hundred were cloathed in silver doublets, and followed by nine others, richly and variously dressed, attended with trumpets and footmen, who were also sumptuously cloathed ; that after these came two trumpets, with his majesty's arms, the sheriffs men in red cloaks, richly laced with silver, to the number of fourscore, with pikes in their hands ; that these were followed by six hundred of the several companies of London on horseback, in black velvet coats, with gold chains, attended with footmen in rich liveries ; that after these followed kettle-drums, trumpets, streamers, divines, the life-guard of horse, the city-waits, the city-officers, the heralds, the lord-mayor carrying the sword bare ; next to him the duke of Buckingham and the general ; then the King's majesty, between the dukes of York and Gloucester ; after these the King's servants ; then troops of horse, among whom were many noble persons of the first rank, who were followed by five regiments of the army horse. The author of this copious narrative, after informing us, that he has omitted many matters of state and glory, with the joy and entertainment of the citizens, with collations of wine, ringing of bells, and bonfires, observes, That Fulgentius, when he beheld the glorious entrance into Rome of king Theodoric, cried out, " What will Heaven be, if Rome be so glorious upon earth ! " and that this occasional meditation might well have suited the twenty-ninth of May.

To the pompous description of this enraptured divine (from whose pen there remains in Thurloe's Collections a letter written in the same stile on Cromwell's being proclaimed protector at Edinburgh) it may not be improper to annex the more sober reflections of Ludlow, who had not yet fled the kingdom, and was a spectator of this scene of national madness, ostentation, and riot. On speaking of the order concerning the securing the persons of the late King's judges, he says, That order not producing the sudden effect the Commons

York, Charles, at the end of his journey, had yet Ann. 1660.
to undergo the ceremony of the compliments where here-
ceives adul-
latory ad-
dresses from
both houses.
of the two houses, who waited for him at
Whitehall, where they threw themselves at his
feet, and, by the mouths of their speakers *, Clar. Hist.
vol. III.
p. 602.

mons expected, it provoked them to such a degree, that, contrary to the known laws of the land, which provide that no confiscation shall be made till after conviction, they commanded their real and personal estates to be forthwith seized; and observes on this conduct, that it ought not to seem strange that men who had so far parted with their prudence as to recall from a twelve-years banishment the son of a father whose head had been publicly taken off, and to invest him with the government of a nation where this had been done, should be no more solicitous for the privileges of their countrymen. On speaking of the pageantry of the King's entry, and of the citizens not improperly wearing chains about their necks, he says, " I must not pass over the folly and the insolence of those who had been so often defeated in the field, and had contributed nothing either of bravery or policy to this change, in ordering the soldiery to ride with drawn swords through the city of London to Whitehall, and intimating, as was supposed, a resolution to maintain that by force which had been obtained by fraud. I confess, it was a strange sight to me, to see the horse which had formerly belonged to our army, now put upon an employment so different from that which they had at first undertaken; especially when I considered, that, for the most part, they had not been raised out of the meanest of the people, and without distinction, as other armies had been; but that they consisted of such as had engaged themselves from a spirit of Liberty, in defence of their rights and religion; but having been corrupted under the tyranny of Cromwell, and kept up as a standing force against the people, they had forgotten their first engagements, and were become as mercenary as other troops are accustomed to be." *Gumble's Life of Monk. Ludlow.*

* In the ceremony of addressing the King, the speaker of the Commons having retired, on the appearance of majesty, to the lower part of the room, walked up to the chair of state, two members attending him, the one on the right-hand and the other on the left, the serjeant going before, with the mace turned downwards. In his way he made two obesances, and in his address to the King he told him, That if all the reason and eloquence which was dispersed in all the heads and tongues

Ann. 1660. addressed him with much fulsome flattery, and vows of affection and fidelity to the world's end.

which were in the world were conveyed into his brain, and united in his tongue, he should want sufficiency to discharge the great task he was enjoined. His majesty's restitution to the exercise of his just, most indubitable, native right of sovereignty, brought to pass by a miraculous way of Divine Providence, beyond and above the comprehension of human understanding, was to be admired, but impossible to be expressed. His majesty's name was registered in the records of Heaven, to have a place in the highest form amongst those glorious martyrs of whom it was reported, that, through faith in Christ and patience in their sufferings, they converted their very tormentors, and conquered those barbarous bloody tyrants under whom they suffered. They had their *wicisti*, and that deservedly; but his majesty must have a treble *wicisti*; for with the same weapons, faith and patience, he had overcome and conquered the hearts and affections of all his people in three great nations; the hearts and affections of all who were worthy the name of Christians or reasonable men. His majesty's victories and triumphs were of another nature from those of the great Roman commanders, for they conquered bodies, but his majesty had conquered souls; they conquered for the honor and good of themselves, his majesty for the honor and good of his people; they conquered with force, but his majesty with faith; they with power, but his majesty with patience: God himself had written his motto, and inscribed it upon his royal crown, *Patienti dabitur*; their triumphs were in narrow streets, but his majesty's in large hearts; their triumphs lasted but for a day, but his majesty's must last for all his days, and after that to triumph in Heaven. The King was farther told, by this eloquent speaker, that he was the true son of a good father; and by the earl of Manchester, in the name of the Peers, who said he should offer no flattering titles, but speak the words of truth, that he was the son of the wise, the antient kings, whose hands held forth a golden sceptre; that he was the desire of three kingdoms, the strength and the stay of the tribes of the people, for the moderating extremities, the reconciling differences, the satisfying all interests, and for the restoring the colasped honor of these nations; and ended his harangue with the wish, that the prophetic expression might be verified in his majesty, that king Charles the Second should be greater than ever was the greatest of that name. *Parl. Hist.* vol. XXII.

To these he returned a very short answer, on ^{Ann. 1660.} account, he said, of his weariness and discomposure, occasioned by the length of journey, and the noise still resounding in his ears from the acclamations of the people; but promised, that, next to the honor of God, to whom principally he should ever own his restoration, he would study the welfare of his people, and would not only be a true Defender of the Faith, but a just assertor of the laws and liberties of his subjects; that whatsoever concerned their good, the confirmation of their laws, and the establishment of their religion, he should be as ready to grant as they to ask, and should study nothing more than to make them as happy as himself.

It is impossible to describe the transport, with ^{Madness of} _{the people} ^{on his arrival.} which the giddy multitude, and all ranks of men, received this new pageant of royalty, to which they had been so long unaccustomed. There was not only a general blaze of bonfires in the city, but great numbers scattered along the road through which the King passed; the people entertaining themselves and idol with burning the badges of their Freedom, the arms of the Commonwealth*. Royalist writers hand down traditions, of men who died with the pleasure they received on this joyful event; but

* "No voice, says Clarendon, was heard but of the highest congratulation, of extolling the person of the King, admiring his condescensions and affability, raising his praises to Heaven, and cursing and detesting the memory of those villains who had so long excluded so meritorious a prince, and thereby withheld that happiness from them which they should now enjoy in the largest measure they could desire or wish." *Clarendon's Life*, vol. II. p. 13.

Ann. 1660. if there were any grounds for such reports, this premature mortality was in all probability incurred by inebriety; for nothing but the servility of the nation, could equal on this day their dissoluteness and drunkenness. The city of London, which, for so many years, except on that day when they triumphed over the nursing fathers of the Commonwealth †, had preserved a face of religion, decorum, and severity of manners, was now as scandalous as the streets of Gibeath; and the debauchery continued to such an infamous height, that Charles, to humor the Presbyterians, whom it was not yet convenient entirely to disgust, put forth a proclamation forbidding the drinking of healths; but having accustomed himself, during the greater part or the whole time of his exile, to a very vicious habit of life, he at the same time encouraged by his practice these guilty excesses, in entering into an intrigue, the first night which succeeded this day of triumph, with the wife of Roger Palmer, a Papist; and a very short time after, in being guilty of a debauch of wine in the Mulberry-Garden, a place of public resort, and again at a more private meeting in the city. These irregularities, the alteration of the government, and the temper of the times, gave rise to the following satirical lines, by Andrew Marvel, the greatest wit and one of the honestest men of the age:

† These excesses were much encouraged by the example of Monk, who, according to Ludlow, never departed from the public meetings in the city till he had drank to a beastly excess. *Ludlow, p. 326.*

Of a tall stature, and a sable hue,
Much like the son of Kish, that swarthy Jew,
Twelve years complete he suffer'd in exile,
And kept his father's asses all the while.

At length, by wonderful impulse of fate,
The people call him home to mend the state;
And what is more they send him money too,
And cloath him all from head to foot anew.
Nor did he such small favors then disdain,
Who in his thirtieth year began his reign.

* * * * *
* * * * *

Bishops and deans, peers, pimps, and knights he made,
Things highly fitting for a monarch's trade.

With women, wine, and viands of delight,
His jolly vassals feast him day and night.

C. H. A. P. XI.

D I S S E R T A T I O N.

THE change in government and opinion, which took their rise in the beginning of James's reign, and, by gradual elevation, rose to the highest pitch of national Liberty and national Glory, and from thence, by the apparent general consent of the people, sunk back to a former state of monarchical tyranny, are instances so unexampled in all history, that an enquiry into the causes which produced such singular effects is well worth the attention of the intelligent reader.

It has been already observed, in the first volume of this History, that, from the revival of letters, the minds of the English nation began to be so far enlightened from the dark superstition of former ages, as, at the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, to bear with impatience the galling yoke of civil and ecclesiastical power, which had been united in the sovereigns of the Tudor line.

This was the disposition of the people; but such disposition, without adequate means of redress, arising from a pre-existing cause, could have produced no effect, but that of vexation of spirit and reluctant bondage; for, by the system of government imposed by William the Norman tyrant, all but the great landholders, who held their estates from father to son, by feodal entail, were in a state of abject and impassable vassalage, excluded

excluded from any voice in the legislature, or property in the soil. It was during the opposition to the weak and arbitrary administration of Henry the Third, and to secure the earl of Leicester and his party from the power of the crown and the great barons, that summonses were sent to the sheriffs of the counties, to elect and return two knights for each shire, two citizens for each city, two burgesses for each borough, and two barons for each cinque-port ^{*}, to represent the commons or community at large [†]; and to weaken a power which had often proved fatal to his predecessors, and with the laudable intention of encouraging trade and commerce, the crafty policy of the First Henry of the Tudor line, passed an act, in which he parted with a useless prerogative, and gave leave to those barons, or great landholders, who should attend him in his wars, to alienate their lands, to sell, to mortgage, or dispose of the same, without paying for fines or licenses of alienation. The barons, whose estates had been exhausted by the long wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, and, by an extravagance, dissipation, and idleness which ever attend hereditary fortune, assented to this law as an act of favor and grace, which proved the great *Magna Charta* of the Commons of England. The barrier was now thrown down between them and the nobles, in matters of landed property. Industry and com-

* The lesser barons, who held their estates by re-grants from the crown of escheated lands, had not the privilege of a seat in parliament, but were summoned at the pleasure of the King. *Guthrie.*

† In the parliament immediately preceding this, there was an attempt to give a voice in the legislature to the Commons, by an election of twelve individuals to represent the community at large. *Guthrie.*

merce had enabled them to make the full advantages of their new privilege, by large purchases from the needy barons; and the prodigality of this order soon occasioned the money to return back to the old channel; so that, in the next reign, the balance of power against the crown visibly leaned towards the Commons, and increased to an height which would have been formidable to the prerogative, had not the opposition of Popish and Protestant faith divided this body amongst themselves, and given opportunity to the crown, with the assistance of the now-dependent nobles, to poize in its favor the balance of religious factions. But, even with this advantage, it required all the policy of an artful woman (and in qualities of cunning the sex are supposed to excel) to keep the Commons in a subordination, agreeable to the notions of prerogative which prevailed in the court of Elizabeth.

James, at the same time that he disgusted the pride of the nobility, by a profuse and indiscriminate grant of the privileges possessed by their order, bullied the Commons; whose power he was so little able to circumscribe, that the many triumphs they gained over his necessities, gave them the full knowledge of their weight and importance; a knowledge which proved very fatal to his successor, who, with as little ability as his father to poize factions, and conceal from the people the high pretensions and real weakness of the crown, had an obstinacy, which, happily for James, was incompatible with the timidity of his nature.

The appetite for Liberty, which had been occasioned by an high cultivation of the mental faculties, was, in the people of England, every day

day increasing, with the means to procure that invaluable blessing. An entire change took place in their manners, from the immediate commencement of Charles's government, to what in general had existed during the preceding reigns: From a servile respect to the unjust pretensions of political privilege, from an abject submission to the dictates of church and state, from a supine tranquility under the most oppressive grievances, from a state of politic lethargy, the Commons almost suddenly roused to a spirit of free enquiry and high independence, and opposed, with unremitting ardor, that civil and ecclesiastical power to which they had hitherto paid an almost-implicit obedience. But notwithstanding this general change in the temper and manner of the times, as the English are a people not easily roused to action, it is a doubtful question, to use the expression of the keenest writer in the Republican age *, whether they would have broken so suddenly from the twofold cord of the law and gospel, if Charles had not preposterously quarrelled with his Scotch subjects, at a time when he was trampling on the established and antient rights of a people, whose wishes and views were extended beyond any of the privileges enjoyed by their ancestors. But this extreme oversight in Charles, who, because he had for some time silenced the laws, imagined he had entirely subdued the spirit of opposition, by the assistance of the Scotch nation, gave reality to those schemes of government which had long been the ardent wish of the generous part of the English. The Peers, who, since their degradation, had been much

* Marchmont Nedham.

insulted

insulted by the crown, and were subject to the jurisdiction of the Star-Chamber, the High-Court, and all the tyrannical courts which had been established by the Tudors and by the First Charles, could not be brought to support that king in his contest with the Commons, till the powers of democracy had risen too high for their united force; and the particular state of Europe, as it prevented any interposition from foreign powers, was in this contest between the crown and the people, very favorable for the cause of Liberty, which, in a short time, completely triumphed over and annihilated that form of government, from the spirit of which, the English, during the space of more than five hundred years, had suffered evils and insults which degrade the nobleness of the human species, to an inferiority to the brute.

It was just after the battle of Worcester that the nation was arrived at the meridian of its glory and the crisis of its fate: All iniquitous distinction, all opposition to the powers of democracy, were totally annihilated and subdued; the government of the country was in the hands of illustrious patriots, and wise legislators; the glory, the welfare, the true interest of the empire was their only care; the public money was no longer lavished on the worthless dependants of a court; no taxes were levied on the people, but what were necessary to effect the purposes of the greatest national good; and such was the economy of the Parliament, that at this time, whilst they kept a superior naval force to any which the preceding sovereigns had maintained, with a land-army of eighty thousand men, partly militia and partly regulars, the public assessments in Scotland, Ireland,

Ireland, and England did not exceed one million a-year *.

A government thus conducted on the true principles of public interest, with the advantages peculiar to the island of Great-Britain, could not but be formidable to foreign states. They felt the present strength, and trembled at the growing power of England, which bid fair to be the second mistress of the world. The great success of the Parliament's arms, with the other happy effects of their government, had to appearance totally subdued domestic opposition. The rage of party had in a great measure subsided, and the jarring factions were calmed into so general an obedience, that the king of Scots, when he invaded England, was joined by a very inconsiderable number, either of the Cavaliers or Presbyterians, whilst the Parliament was with alacrity assisted by the whole force of the nation.

Such being the promising aspect of the times, it is not surprising, that the Commonwealth's-men should imagine that a people who had tasted the sweets of Liberty, the benefit of equal laws, the numberless advantages of just government, and after being harassed for so many years with the oppressions of king, nobles, and churchmen, would never again willingly return to their old state of vassalage; but as the true love of Liberty is founded in virtue, the

* The whole taxes on the nation, the customs, excise, and additional assessments, did not amount to above two millions a year; which, though a sum higher than the legal revenue of preceding sovereigns, was trifling, if we consider the very large naval and land force which it was necessary to maintain to secure the country from foreign and domestic foes, till the Commonwealth could be established on a permanent footing.

Hume's Hist. of Gr. Brit. vol. II. p. 121, & seq.

Parliament were indefatigable in their endeavours to reform to a state of possible perfection, the manners of the people. They have been ridiculed for a preciseness in this article; but the design was certainly laudable; and, during their short reign, attended with the happiest effects; effects which would have subsisted to this day, if they had sufficient caution to have balanced the power of Cromwell, with an equal military command in the hands of the brave and honest Ludlow, till time and opportunity had enabled them totally to destroy an influence, which, from the first establishment of the Commonwealth, had threatened its existence.

It has been fully related in the preceding pages of this History, how Cromwell, assisted by a few wrong-headed fanatics, by the corrupt part of the army, by the lawyers, who were enraged at the Parliament for an intention to reform the law, and by the clergy, who were angry at as laudable an intention to take away the burthen of tythes, and provide for their body in a manner better calculated to maintain that harmony which ought to subsist among the different members of the ministry, and between the ministry and the laity, seized the government out of the hands of the Parliament, re-subjected the nation to the yoke of an individual, and again involved it in discord, faction, and their attendant evils, tumults, conspiracies, and general discontent.

The state of the quarrel on the usurpation of Cromwell, from being general became particular: It was no longer the people of England against the pretensions of the Stewart family; the contest for power, lay between the family of the Stewarts and the family of the Cromwells,

wells, and the success of either pretender must be equally attended with the misery and slavery of the people. Encouraged by this important alteration in the circumstances of the contest, and the general ill humor of the public, the Cavaliers again entered into conspiracies, to place their idol in the usurped seat of empire. The Presbyterians, who had been cajoled by Cromwell for the purposes of his ambition, resumed their hopes of becoming the sole dictators to the consciences of their fellow-citizens, and now caballed with the government, and now with the Cavaliers, to destroy that liberty of conscience, which had so long been the object of their envy and detestation. The sectaries, who had been united to a man in the support of the Republic, were now divided as interest or principle swayed. The weak fanatics whom he could deceive, and the corrupt individuals whom he could bribe, supported the power and pretensions of the usurper; the honest and sensible avowed an inflexible opposition. Those illustrious patriots, whose wise and virtuous conduct had raised the glory and the felicity of the nation to an unrivalled height, deserted the helm of government, which they could no longer hold with consistence to principle or former dignity. The interest of the nation was no farther considered, than as it was united to the particular interest of Cromwell. The people again sustained the mortification of paying their money to support the parade of a court, and to gratify the dependants and flatterers of an individual. The opposition which these renewed grievances, and the different interests of parties occasioned, rendered an high degree of oppression necessary to maintain the government of the

the usurper; and that oppression naturally produced in the people, a general desire to return to the milder tyranny of the antient establishment. Morals, the great support of Liberty, declined under the government of Cromwell; the religion of the court degenerated into the impious fanaticism of the High Church party; these self-deceivers, instructed by Cromwell, imagined, or pretended to imagine, that their particular interests were inseparable to the interests and the will of the Deity. By their profane jargon, they poisoned those religious principles in the people which had been so sedulously cultivated by the parliament; and the great encouragement which the most dissolute of the old Commonwealth-party, as being the proper tools to execute the purposes of the tyrant, met with, the excitement to pride and vanity, that great bane of true virtue and national felicity, which the ostentation of a court ever produces, infected the morals of the army and the whole nation.

From this state of misery and corruption, into which it was again fallen, England had a pleasing prospect of deliverance, by the death of the usurper, and the restoration of the power of the Parliament; but Cromwell's reign, though short, was sufficiently long to make a perpetual entail of those evils his wicked ambition had occasioned; the corruption of the major part of the army, and the restless ambition of the military leaders, which had been highly excited by the successful example of Cromwell, prevented the honest endeavors of the parliament, to settle the government on the true principles of justice and equity, from taking any effect. The passions of hope, despair, fear, and

and revenge, affected the tranquility of the public, and rendered the desire of a settlement, on any terms, general. This impatience of the people, united to the restless prejudices of the Cavaliers, and the peevishness of the Presbyterians, who, misled by interested leaders, obviously hazarded the entire ruin of the just interests of their party, to revenge themselves on those who had prevented their putting into execution their favorite system of religious despotism, produced that shameful, that singular instance, of sacrificing all those principles of Liberty and justice, which had been established by the successful contest of the people with the crown, of voluntarily giving up all the advantages which had been gained by a long and bloody war, of not only admitting an expelled family into the power of their ancestors without limitation or conditions, but in receiving as a favor, from a poor, forlorn, and exiled individual, those necessary stipulations for the general security of the public, which, according to the lowest principle of Freedom, ought to have been established by the authority of its representatives.

Thus, in a fit of rage and despair, the nation plunged themselves headlong into a state of hopeless servitude; for every other revolution in government, had been attended with the prospect of relief. Thus they prostituted the interest and exalted honor of their country, not only to be trampled on by domestic foes, but exposed it to the scorn and derision of foreign states; and thus the mighty efforts which had been made in their favor by their illustrious countrymen, were not only rendered

useless, but served to complete the triumph and exalt the powers of tyranny ; a tyranny, which, in its consequences, for a long time obscured the lustre of the brightest age that ever adorned the page of history. That obscurity is now, in some measure, happily dispelled : Time and experience have abated the violence, and confined to narrower compass the generality, of those prejudices, which prevailed after the Restoration. The praise due to the illustrious champions of the public cause, many of whom paid the tribute of their lives and properties for the services they endeavored to render their country, is a theme of delight among the few enlightened citizens ; nor are their memories, with inferior characters, some weak bigots excepted, branded with the ungrateful, the harsh terms, of "the bloody, the impious regicides." The rhymers Cowley is no longer preferred to the sublime genius of Milton, in whose comprehensive powers were united the highest excellencies of poetry, the acuteness of rational logic, and the deep sagacity of politic science. The recovered sense and taste of the nation, can see and acknowledge, that the works of Nevil, Sydney, and Harrington, are performances which excel even the antient classics, on the science of policy. In the character of Andrew Marvel are allowed to be united in an exalted degree, the wit, the patriot, and the legislator ; and the keen satire and judicious reflections of Marchmont Nedham, are read with pleasure and applause.

APPENDIX.

A LIST of the ACTS and ORDINANCES Passed from the Year 1641 to 1656.

ANNO 1641.

1. A N ordinance for the safeguard of the Parliament, Tower and city of London, under the command of serjeant-major-general Skippon.
2. For the ordering of the militia of the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales.
3. For settling the militia for the safety and defence of the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales.

ANNO 1642.

1. An ordinance inhibiting the importation of currants.
2. For new loans and contributions as well from the United Provinces, as from England and Wales, for the speedy relief of the miserable and distressed estate of the Protestants in the kingdom of Ireland.
3. For an assessment to be made in the several parishes of England, for the relief of maimed soldiers, widows and fatherless children.
4. An ordinance for the better observation of the monthly fast.
5. Concerning stage-plays.
6. That all the regiments of foot and troops of horse in London, and all other parts of England, shall within forty-eight hours after publication hereof, march to his excellency Robert earl of Essex, to be employed for the defence of his majesty and kingdom, the privilege of Parliament, and liberty of the subject.
7. For allowing and authorising any of his majesty's good and loyal subjects in the kingdom of England, to furnish with all manner of warlike provision, and send to sea, what ships

A P P E N D I X.

and pinnaces they shall think fit, to make stay of all such supplies as they shall seize upon by sea or land going to assist the rebels in Ireland.

8. Declaring resolutions of making provision for those that shall be maimed in this present war, who are in the service of the Parliament, and for the wives and children of those that shall be slain.

9. For the better provision of victuals and other necessaries for the army, and for payment and satisfaction to be made for such provisions.

10. For the assessing of all such as have not contributed upon the propositions of both houses of Parliament for raising of money, plate, horse, &c. proportionable to their estates.

11. For the speedy setting forth of certain ships (in all points furnished for war) to prevent the bringing over of soldiers, money, ordnance, and other ammunition from beyond the sea, to assist the king against the Parliament in England.

12. For the better and more speedy execution of the late ordinance of the twenty-ninth of November, 1642.

13. That no member of either house shall be assessed by virtue of the ordinance for the twentieth part, but by that house whereof he is a member.

14. Concerning the subsidy of tonnage and poundage.

15. For assessing all men of ability within the counties of Northampton, Leicester, Derby, Rutland, Nottingham, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Buckingham, who have not contributed upon the propositions of both houses of Parliament; and they to be rated and assessed in like sort as was the 400,000 l. by an act of this present Parliament.

16. For the association of the said counties.

17. For the assessing of malignants in the county of Somerset, and the parts adjacent.

18. For the better raising and levying of mariners, sailors and others, for the present guarding of the seas, and necessary defence of the realm, and other his majesty's dominions.

19. For the better levying and receiving of monies assessed by virtue of the late ordinance of the twenty-ninth of November, 1642.

20. Exhorting all his majesty's good subjects in the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales to the duty of repentance (as the only remedy for their present calamities); with an earnest confession and deep humiliation for all particular and national sins, that so at length we may obtain a firm and happy peace both with God and man.

21. That no wharfinger, woodmonger, or other seller of Newcastle coals within the cities of London and Westminster,

or

or the suburbs thereof, shall, after the making hereof, sell any Newcastle coals above the rate of twenty-three shillings the chaldron, and after the first of April next, above twenty shillings at the most.

22. For the speedy raising and levying of money, for the maintenance of the army raised by the Parliament, and other great affairs of this commonwealth, by a weekly assessment upon the cities of London and Westminster, and every county and city of the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales.

23. For the relieving of all persons over-rated by the ordinance for weekly assessments.

24. That the lord-mayor and citizens of the city of London shall have full power and authority, according to their discretion, to trench, stop, and fortify all highways leading into the said city. And for the better effecting thereof shall impose upon all the inhabitants within the same, upon every house worth five pounds a year six pence, and every house of greater rent after the rate of two pence in the pound.

25. To prevent foreign forces and pirates.

26. Authorising persons in several counties to be added to the committees for weekly assessments.

27. For the raising of monies for the defence of the city of Exon.

A N N O 1643.

1. An ordinance for sequestering notorious delinquents estates.

2. Engaging the public faith to such as shall lend either horse, men or money, to be in the army under the command of Sir William Waller and Sir Arthur Haslerig.

3. Concerning debts, and rents of houses to be gathered and paid to collectors.

4. For the speedy raising and levying of money throughout the whole kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, for the relief of the commonwealth, for taxing such as have not at all contributed or lent, or not according to their estates and abilities.

5. For raising horse.

6. That the committee at Haberdashers-Hall shall have power to call before them, and appoint assessors to sess, all such persons as have not contributed proportionably upon the propositions, according to the ordinance of the twentieth part, within the city of London, and twenty miles compass.

7. That all the temporal livings, dignities and ecclesiastical promotions belonging unto William lord Archbishop of Canterbury, be forthwith sequestered by and unto the Parliament.

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8. For the calling of an assembly of learned and godly divines, to be consulted with by the Parliament, for the settling of the government of the church.
9. For the regulating of printing.
10. For the encouragement of adventurers, to make new subscriptions for towns, cities and lands in Ireland.
11. For the speedy raising and levying of monies set by way of charge or new impost on the several commodities mentioned in the schedule hereunto annexed, as well for the better securing of trade as for the maintenance of the forces raised for the defence of the king and parliament both by sea and land, as for and towards the payment of the debts of the commonwealth, for which the public faith is or shall be given.
12. For explanation of a former ordinance for sequestration of delinquent estates.
13. Explaining the former ordinance for the raising of a body of horse for the preservation, peace, and safety of the kingdom, wherein the tenants in their respective places and habitations, are forthwith to pay the assessments formerly assessed on the landlords, to be deducted out of their rents.
14. For the utter demolishing, removing and taking away of all monuments of superstition or idolatry.
15. For the speedy raising and levying of monies by way of charge and new impost, upon the several commodities in a schedule hereunto annexed contained, as well for the better securing of trade, as for the maintenance of the forces raised for the defence of the king, Parliament and kingdom, both by sea and land, as for and towards the payment of the debts of the commonwealth, for which the public is or shall be engaged.
16. For the due and orderly receiving and collecting of the king's, queen's and prince's revenue, and the arrears thereof.
17. That all sellers of wines who shall pay the excise, shall and may take for all Spanish wines sold, for every quart fourteen pence; and for all French wines eight pence a-quart, and so proportionably after that rate.
18. For assessing all such members of either of the houses of Parliament as have or shall absent themselves therefrom, or are in actual war against the Parliament.
19. For the upholding the government of the fellowship of merchant-adventurers of England, to the better maintenance of the trade of cloathing and woollen manufacture of the kingdom.
20. For the repayment of all such sums of money as are or shall be lent by any person or persons, for the speedy bringing of

of our brethren of Scotland into this realm, for our assistance in this present war.

21. For the raising of 66,666l. 13s. 4d. by way of loan, for the better enabling of our brethren of Scotland, for our assistance and defence in this common cause of our religion and liberty.

22. For the preservation and keeping together for public use such books, evidences, records and writings, sequestered or taken by distress or otherwise, as are fit to be so observed.

23. Additional articles to the ordinance of excise.

24. Directing the payment of all duties upon the revenue to be made to the several receivers appointed or to be appointed.

25. For the making void the places of clerks of record at Westminster, who have contributed against the two houses of Parliament.

26. Touching the excise of flesh, victuals and salt.

27. For regulating the university of Cambridge, and for removing of scandalous ministers in the seven associated counties.

28. To enable Sir Thomas Middleton knight, serjeant-major-general for the six counties of North-Wales, to take subscriptions for the raising of forces for reducing of the said counties to their due obedience, and prevention of the access of Irish forces into those parts.

29. For taking and receiving of the accounts of the whole kingdom.

30. For the upholding the government and fellowship of merchants of England, trading in the Levant seas, for the maintenance of cloathing and woollen manufactures, the venting of lead, tin, and sundry other commodities of this kingdom.

31. An ordinance for repayment of 20,000l. to the commissioners of the customs, formerly lent by them for the navy.

32. For the speedy raising of 450l. weekly in the county of Hertford, over and above their former assessment, for the fortification and defence of the said county.

33. Concerning the taking up of 2600l. for the reducing the western parts, for which the parliament appoint repayment out of the weekly assessment.

34. For raising monies in the Isle of Wight, and to be employed for the defence and safety of the said island.

35. For raising forces for the defence of the county of Warwick, the city and county of Coventry, the county of Stafford, the city and county of Litchfield, and parts adjacent to the said counties.

36. For the explanation of the weekly assessment in London, and that the city of London shall have the public faith of the kingdom for the repayment of 24,000 l. for every 40,000 l. that shall be monthly collected and paid in by the said city upon the said ordinance.

37. For sequestering delinquents estates in Com. Devon.

38. That the committee for the militia of London shall have full power and authority to raise new regiments of volunteers, as well within the said city and liberties as without.

39. For giving power and authority to the major of Plymouth to supply the said town and parts adjacent with corn, victual and ammunition.

40. Giving power to the bailiffs and aldermen of the town of Yarmouth, to set a rate upon the inhabitants for maintenance of their forts and bulwarks.

41. For 200 l. weekly (to be paid out of a greater weekly sum charged on the county of Buckingham) for the use of Aylesbury-garrison.

42. For seizing horses and goods of malignants, according to a former ordinance.

43. For bringing in the monies for sequestrations out of the county of Devon.

44. Concerning the trained-bands of the cities of London and Westminster, and the county of Middlesex, for their better appearance and execution of their duties, as often as they shall be called thereunto by their captains or other officers.

45. For raising of forces for the defence and safety of the county of Dorset, and town and county of Pool.

46. For adding commissioners for seizing of horses, goods and chattles of malignants.

47. For protecting and saving harmless all such as should use their best endeavor for fortifying and preserving the town of Barnstable in the county of Devon.

48. To suppress all riotous and disorderly persons in and about Meere, Shaftesbury and Brown, Selwood in the county of Somerset, Dorset and Wilts.

49. The names of the knights and gentlemen entrusted in every county to bring up a speedy account of the weekly assessment, and to return the names of all such persons as refuse to pay.

50. For maintenance of the garrison of Portsmouth, Hurst-Castle, Cashiot-Castle, and South-Sea-Castle.

51. Concerning 23,000 l. lately lent by the lord-mayor, aldermen and commons of London, to be repaid out of the debts and rents of houses gathered by the collectors.

52. For addition of committees for the county of Suffolk.

53. For addition of commissioners for seizing and sequestering of delinquents and Papists estates in the county of Kent.

54. Concerning colonel James Maleverer.

55. For the raising of money out of the Borough of Southwark, the parishes of Redrith, Newington-Butts and Lambeth, whereunto is added the liberty of the Clink and the Bankside, being within the said Borough.

56. For the taking of horses for the service of the Parliament.

57. Concerning the archbishop of Canterbury, who, by reason of many great and weighty businesses, cannot as yet be brought to his trial.

58. Whereby the commissioners named in a late act of Parliament for raising a subsidy of 400,000 l. in the several counties of this kingdom, are authorized to take and receive all such monies, victuals, arms, ammunition, goods, wares and commodities as have been lately collected for the relief of Ireland, which the churchwardens and other collectors are required to pay in without delay.

59. For addition of commissioners for sequestering delinquents estates in the county of Sussex.

60. Appointing such monies as shall be raised upon a former ordinance, for such as have not sufficiently contributed or lent, to be employed for such forces as are raised out of the associated counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, Isle of Ely, Hereford, and county of the city of Norwich.

61. Authorising colonel Walter Long to take and collect such monies as have been formerly by him and others assessed, and are yet unpaid in several hundreds of Essex, by virtue of a commission from his excellency the earl of Essex.

62. For the better securing and settling of the peace of the county of Kent, and for enabling them to associate with the city of London, or any other counties adjacent.

63. Whereby commissioners are appointed for the prevention of divers practises used of late by merchants and others, to deceive his majesty and the Parliament of such customs and duties as are due and payable for all such goods and merchandizes as are imported into or exported out of this kingdom, and to stay all prohibited goods brought in and carried out contrary to the laws.

64. For addition of committees in several counties for execution of several ordinances of Parliament.

65. For the speedy raising of forces by sea and land, to reduce the town of Newcastle to obedience to the king and Parliament.

66. For reducing to the obedience of the Parliament, and for securing of the counties of Denbigh, Montgomery, Flint, Merioneth, Caernarvon, and Anglesey.

67. For

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- 67. For securing 6000 l. to the earl of Denbigh, which he lent for the use of the state.
- 68. For raising men for the defence of the Isle of Wight.
- 69. For raising monies for the garrison of Northampton.
- 70. For appointing the right honorable Ferdinando lord Fairfax, to be governor of the town of Kingston upon Hull.
- 71. For the speedy raising of a body of horse for the preservation, safety, and peace of the kingdom, to resist the insolencies and outrages committed by the soldiers of the king's army; which horse are to be raised out of the several counties within specified, and to be under the command of the right honorable Edward earl of Manchester, who is appointed by this ordinance for this service, to be commander in chief both for horse and foot.
- 72. For employing such monies on the county of Huntingdon, as shall be raised in the said county upon the ordinance of such as have not lent and contributed according to their ability.
- 73. For the speedy raising and levying of money for the maintenance of the army raised by the Parliament, and other great affairs of the commonwealth, by a weekly assessment upon the several counties therein mentioned for two months, beginning from the third day of August, 1643.
- 74. For the speedy raising and impressing of men for the defence of the kingdom.
- 75. For naming a committee for the associated counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Hertford and Huntingdon.
- 76. For the speedy raising of one thousand dragoons, and the sum of 13,500 l. in money, in the county of Essex.
- 77. Concerning the late rebellious insurrection in the county of Kent.
- 78. For the speedy pressing of twenty thousand soldiers, with so many gunners, trumpeters, and chirurgeons, as shall be thought fit by the committees for the six associated counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Hertfordshire and Huntingdonshire, with the city of Norwich and Isle of Ely.
- 79. For an oath of covenant to be taken by all persons within the city of London or lines of communication.
- 80. For the speedy supply of monies within the city of London, and liberties thereof, for the relief and maintenance of the armies raised, and to be raised, for the necessary defence of the city and liberties aforesaid.
- 81. For the repayment of the city of London 50,000 l. which they have undertaken to advance for the payment of the army raised in the defence of the Parliament.
- 82. For

82. For protecting of such as bring in bullion and coin into the ports of London and Dover.

83. For the more speedy raising of the monies formerly imposed, and yet unpaid, within the city of London and liberties thereof.

84. For the speedy raising of monies, and furnishing of one or more magazine or magazines of arms and ammunition, and other necessary charges for and concerning the raising of horse and other military forces within the hamlets of the Tower, the city of Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and other parts of the counties of Middlesex and Surry within the forts and lines of communication and parishes adjacent, mentioned in the weekly bill of mortality.

85. To prevent the coming over of the Irish rebels.

86. For giving power to the committee of the militia of London to raise forces to go under the command of Sir William Waller.

87. For collectors to bring in the arrears of assessments in the county of Suffolk.

88. Enabling lieutenant-colonel Owen Rowe to provide arms to the value of 5000 l.

89. For levying of monies by a weekly tax upon the six associated counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, &c.

90. For raising money by way of loan at Ipswich for the navy.

91. For listing apprentices unto watermen under Sir William Waller.

92. To repay 30,000 l. to the commissioners for customs.

93. For the relief of the distressed clergy of Ireland.

94. Touching the salary and allowances to be made to the commissioners and auditors for the excise, together with the several oaths to be taken by them, as also directing the manner and time of the entries to be made by all such persons who have bought or sold any goods or commodities chargeable with the excise since the eleventh of this instant September, or shall buy or sell any such goods before the execution of this ordinance.

95. Concerning the associating of the county of Hertford with the city of London, and other towns and parishes in the neighbor counties of Middlesex, Essex and Buckingham.

96. Wherein the county of Lincoln is added in the association of the six counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Hertford, Huntingdon, for the mutual defence of each other against the Popish army in the North, under the command of the marquis of Newcastle.

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97. To supply the poor, and all other degrees and sorts of people with wood.

98. Concerning Northampton, for the raising of money for the space of six months, for the defence and preservation of the said county.

99. Concerning forces to be sent by the committee of the militia of the city of London, for the recovering of Reading, agreed upon the ninth day of October, 1643.

100. To enable the right honorable Edward earl of Manchester to put in execution all former ordinances for sequestering delinquents estates, weekly assessments, the fifth and twentieth parts, contribution for Ireland, and other ordinances for raising of monies within the associated counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Isle of Ely, and city of Norwich.

101. For all brewers of beer, ale, cyder or perry to pay the excise imposed by a former ordinance of Parliament, before the delivering, upon pain of forfeiting double the value of the said commodities.

102. For the more speedy raising of the monies formerly imposed, and yet unpaid, within the city of London and liberties thereof.

103. For the better prevention of spies and intelligencers.

104. For the relief and maintenance of sick and maimed soldiers, and of poor widows and children of soldiers slain in the service of the Parliament.

105. Whereby Robert earl of Warwick is made governor in chief and lord high admiral of all those islands, and other plantations, inhabited, planted, or belonging to any his majesty the king of England's subjects, within the bounds, and upon the coasts of America.

106. Whereby all vintners are required to bring in the money due for the half-excise of all wines remaining in their hands, at or before the eleventh of September last, according to two former ordinances of Parliament of the eleventh of September, and the first of October.

107. For the further enlargement of a former ordinance, made for the speedy raising of monies, and furnishing one or more magazine or magazines of arms and ammunition, and other necessary charges for military forces within the hamlets of the Tower, the city of Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and other parts of the counties of Middlesex and Surry, within the forts and lines of communication and the parishes adjacent, mentioned in the weekly bill of mortality.

108. Touching

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108. Touching the new great seal of England.
109. Touching customs for Plymouth.
110. For defence of the town and county of Southampton.
111. Enabling all persons approved of by Parliament, to set forth ships in warlike manner, for the guarding the seas, and defence of his majesty's dominions.
112. For the erecting and maintaining a garrison at Newport-Pagnell, in the county of Buckingham.
113. For further addition of power to the committee for the county of Hertfordshire.
114. To disable any person within the city of London, and liberties thereof, to be of the common-council, or in any office of trust within the said city, who shall not take the late solemn league and covenant.
115. To enable the militia of London to send out forces under major-general Brown.
116. For the better raising and levying of mariners, sailors and others, for the better guarding of the seas, and necessary defence of the realm.
117. For the recruiting, maintaining and regulating of the forces of the seven associated counties, under the command of Edward earl of Manchester.
118. For prevention of the adjournment of the courts of justice, without consent of both houses of Parliament.
119. Authorising the commissioners of the great seal of England, to call before them all officers, ministers, and other attendants on the great seal, or court of Chancery, King's Bench, Common-Pleas, Exchequer, and court of Wards and Liveries, and to tender unto every of them the solemn league and covenant for reformation, and for making void as well the places and offices of such as shall refuse or neglect to take the same, as also for restraining of all lawyers, attorneyes, clerks or solicitors, to practise or solicit in any of the said courts, before they shall have taken the said solemn league and covenant.
120. Enjoining the taking of the late solemn league and covenant throughout the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales.
121. For the raising of a new loan and assessment in the county of Middlesex, for the maintenance of forces for the defence of the cities of London and Westminster, and county of Middlesex, and for the future preservation and safety of the town of Uxbridge, and preventing of the incursions of the enemy hereafter.
122. For encouragement of merchants, and importers of bullion or coin into this kingdom.
123. For

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123. For excise money raised in Hull, to be employed for that garrison.
124. Giving power to the lord Fairfax to appoint and place able, learned, and godly divines in the northern parts.
125. For payment of reformed officers out of Zant currants.
126. Concerning currants.

A N N O 1644.

1. An ordinance to enable Sir William Brereton, baronet, one of the members of the house of Commons, to execute the several ordinances of Parliament for advance of money within the county of Chester, and county and city of Chester, and to take subscriptions for the better supply and maintenance of the forces under his command for the security of the said places, and for prevention of the access of the Irish forces into those parts.
2. For the making of salt-petre, &c.
3. For the better observation of the Lord's Day.
4. Excise for one year longer, to the eleventh of September next, and concerning ten thousand pounds advanced by the commissioners of excise.
5. For the further demolishing of monuments of idolatry and superstition.
6. For relief of the subjects who have been prejudiced by stopping and discontinuing of writs of error; which said writs are to be sealed with the great seal of England, ordained and established by both houses of Parliament.
7. For the better execution of the former ordinance for sequestration of delinquents and Papists estates.
8. Concerning a new excise upon alum, copperas, Monmouth caps and hats of all sorts, hops, saffron, starch, and all manner of silks or stuffs made in this kingdom, and many other goods and commodities imported, made or growing in this kingdom, not formerly paying excise.
9. For the explanation of a former ordinance for the taking and receiving the accounts of the kingdom.
10. For mitigation of the excise upon strong waters.
11. For an assessment through the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, for the present relief of the British army in Ireland, to continue for twelve months, from the first of September 1644.
12. For the true payment of tythes and other such duties, according to the laws and customs of this realm.
13. For

13. For the raising 66,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. by way of loan, for the better enabling of our brethren of Scotland, for our assistance and defence in this common cause of religion and Liberty.

14. For continuance of the excise and new impost upon flesh, victuals and salt, for one whole year longer, to commence the ninth of January 1644.

15. For taking away the book of Common-Prayer, and for establishing and putting in execution of the Directory for the public worship of God.

16. For the raising of monies for redemption of distressed captives.

17. For continuation of the several ordinances of excise or new impost, until the eleventh of September 1646.

18. For continuance of the subsidy of tonnage and poundage, together with the book of rates, in full force and power, from the twenty-fifth of March 1645, until the twenty-sixth of March 1647; also for repealing and making void the ordinances of Parliament prohibiting the importation of currants.

19. An ordinance for the speedy compleating and maintaining of the army under the immediate command of Robert earl of Essex, lord-general of the forces raised by the Parliament.

20. For the contribution of the value of one meal, in the week towards the charge of arming and forming into regiments the auxiliary forces now in raising within the lines of communication.

21. For the raising, maintaining, paying and regulating of 3000 foot, 1200 horse, and 500 dragoons, to be commanded by Sir William Waller, as serjeant-major-general of the said forces, under his excellency the earl of Essex, lord-general, and of all other forces raised or to be raised in the associated counties of Southampton, Surry, Sussex, and Kent.

22. For felling of timber-trees in Waltham-Forest, for the use of his majesty's navy royal.

23. For felling of timber-trees in the woods of several delinquents, for the use of his majesty's navy royal.

24. For continuance of a former ordinance touching Hertfordshire, for four months longer.

25. Enabling the committee of the militia of London, to send forth the Hamlets, with the Southwark and Westminster auxiliaries.

26. For raising and maintaining of horse and foot, for the garrison of Gloucester, and for the counties of Gloucester, &c.

27. For the maintaining of the forces of the seven associated counties under the command of Edward Earl of Manchester.

28. For

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28. For master solicitors doing all acts which ought or may be done by master attorney-general.
29. Concerning the excise at Kingston upon Hull.
30. For securing the commissioners of customs, for monies they advanced for the state.
31. For encouragement of mariners.
32. For associating of the counties of Pembroke, Carmarthen and Cardigan.
33. For constituting and appointing serjeant-major-general Richard Brown to be serjeant-major-general of all the forces raised or to be raised and employed by authority of Parliament, for the reducing of the city of Oxford, the town and castle of Wallingford, the fort of Greenland-House, and the town and castle of Banbury ; as also serjeant-major-general of the forces of the counties of Oxon, Berks and Buckingham, and of the forces of the said city of Oxford.
34. For raising of monies for the maintenance of such forces as are and shall be raised in the county of Salop, for the service of the Parliament.
35. For continuance of a former ordinance for four months longer, from the time of the expiration of the said ordinance, for the raising, maintaining, paying and regulating of 3000 foot, 1200 horse, and 500 dragoons, to be commanded by Sir William Waller, in the associated counties of Southampton, Surry, Sussex and Kent.
36. That the committee for the militia of London shall have power to impose upon all such persons as have any stocks going in trade within the line of communication, to find such proportion of arms, and pay such persons as have been or shall be appointed to bear the same, as the said committee shall think fit, not exceeding three foot-soldiers for any one man ; also to search in all suspicious places for Papists, and other ill-affected persons, and expel them out of the limits aforesaid, and seize all arms and ammunition which they shall find in the custody of any such person.
37. Enabling the militia of London to send three regiments of auxiliaries under major-general Brown.
38. To appoint and enable committees in the several counties of Buckingham, Oxon, and Berks, to put in execution this present ordinance, and several other ordinances of both houses of Parliament.
39. For the excluding of the members of either house of Parliament, who have deserted the Parliament, and adhered to those who levy war against the Parliament.
40. For the enabling the committees herein named to put in execution several ordinances of Parliament, in the counties

of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, the cities of Bristol and Exeter, and the town and county of Pool.

41. For additional committees in the county of Lincoln.
42. For putting the associated counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Huntingdon, Hertford, Cambridge, Lincoln, the Isle of Ely, and the cities of Lincoln and Norwich, into a posture of defence, by the better regulating of the trained bands, and raising other forces of horse and foot, for the preservation and safety of the said counties and cities.

43. For payment of 3000 l. out of the excise, to the forces in Lancashire.

44. For settling the militia in the county of Leicester.

45. For raising an army of horse and foot in, the several counties and cities herein mentioned.

46. For raising and maintaining of horse and foot for the defence and preservation of the county of Wilts, and the garrison of Malmesbury.

47. For impressing soldiers for reducing of Oxon.

48. For the provision of turf and peat for the cities of London and Westminster, and the suburbs thereof.

49. For captain Swanley to land forces in Wales.

50. For payments of money upon handicrafts-men and others, out of the ordinance of the eighth of July, 1644, for additional excise.

51. For the better regulating and levying of the excise of flesh within the cities of London and Westminster, the suburbs, and lines of communication.

52. For the speedy establishing of a court martial within the cities of London, Westminster, or lines of communication, together with the names of such commissioners as are appointed for the execution thereof.

53. For the associating the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, and the cities of Bristol and Exeter, and the town and county of Pool, and for the putting them into a posture of defence.

54. For a new impost or excise upon herring.

55. That it shall and may be lawful for all foreigners and strangers in amity with this kingdom, to have free trade and commerce to and from the city of London, and all other ports and places within any of his majesty's dominions, standing right, and keeping fidelity to the king and parliament.

56. Establishing certain rules and instructions to be observed by the commissioners of excise, the auditors in taking their accounts, and others employed about the collection of the excise.

57. For raising and maintaining of horse and foot, for reducing

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ing and continuing the county and city of Worcester, into and under the obedience and service of the king and Parliament.

58. For the maintaining of the forces of the seven associated counties under the command of Edward earl of Manchester, by a weekly payment upon the said associated counties, to begin the first day of September, and to continue for four months next ensuing

59. For the continuance of a former ordinance concerning the excise.

60. For 3000 l. for Sir Thomas Middleton.

61. For a weekly assessment on the county of Gloucester, and on the city and county of the city of Gloucester.

62. For sending forth five regiments out of the city of London, and parts adjacent.

63. For the raising and levying of monies for the advance and maintenance of the forces now to be sent forth for the present expedition, from the city of London and liberties thereof, and from the parishes mentioned in the weekly bills of mortality.

64. For a weekly assessment upon the county of Northampton.

65. Commanding that no officer or soldier, either by sea or land, shall give any quarter to any Irishman, or to any Papist born in Ireland, which shall be taken in arms against the Parliament in England.

66. An additional ordinance to a former ordinance of the nineteenth of February last past, granted to divers persons of the county of Middlesex, therein named, for putting the said county into a posture of defence.

67. For the constituting of Sir Nathaniel Brent judge of the Prerogative-Court of Canterbury.

68. To enable the associated counties, with the county of Northampton, to make such works as shall reduce the town of Crowland to the obedience of king and Parliament.

69. For freeing and discharging of all rents and revenues belonging to the hospitals of Bartholomew, Bridewell, St. Thomas and Bethlem, from any assessments, taxes and charges whatsoever.

70. For the raising of money to pay the charge of the fortifications and guards, and for other necessary uses.

71. For the continuance of the ordinance of the Isle of Wight.

72. For ordaining ministers in the county of Lancaster.

73. For establishing a new seal for the county-palatine of Lancaster.

74. For bringing in the arrears of the monthly assessment formerly

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formerly charged upon the cities of London and Westminster, and all other parishes and places within the lines of communication, and county of Middlesex.

75. Concerning the dutchy-seal of Lancaster, together with the oath of the sheriff of Lancaster.

76. For raising and maintaining of forces for the defence of the kingdom, under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, knight.

77. For the raising and levying of the monthly sum of 21,000 l. towards the maintenance of the Scottish army, under the command of the earl of Leven, by a monthly assessment upon the several counties, cities and towns of the kingdom of England therein mentioned.

78. To enable the lord-high-admiral to press mariners, sailors and others, for the service of the navy.

79. Commanding all officers and soldiers, upon pain of death, to repair to their colors within eight and forty hours after notice of this ordinance.

80. For the committee for the militia of London to have power to impose upon persons to find arms, not exceeding three foot-soldiers for any one man, and to search for Papists and suspicious persons, and to disarm them, and to raise horse.

81. For the speedy raising and impressing of men for the recruiting of the forces under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, in the defence of the kingdom.

82. For charging and taxing a monthly rate of 300 l. upon the county of Essex, for the safety and defence of the said county, and to continue until the first day of December next, if this unnatural war shall so long continue.

83. For the continuance of a weekly assessment on the county of Gloucester, and on the city and county of the city of Gloucester.

84. For providing of draught-horses for carriage of the train of artillery to the army under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and for paying of coat and conduct money.

85. The third part of the customs for currants to be for the use of the garrison of Gloucester.

A N N O 1645.

1. An ordinance for none to preach but ordained ministers, except allowed by both houses of Parliament.

2. Prohibiting the importation of whale-oil, fin, or gills, but by ships set forth from hence, and by English subjects.

3. For the better taking and expediting the accounts of the whole kingdom.

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4. For

4. For continuance of a former ordinance for relief of distressed captives.

5. For giving the public faith of the kingdom for repayment of monies paid in upon the twentieth and fifth parts.

6. For the more effectual putting in execution the Directory for public worship, in all parish-churches and chapels within the kingdom of England and Wales.

7. For taking away the fifth part of delinquents estates, formerly granted their wives and children.

8. For compositions for wardships in the court of Wards and Liveries, and for signing bills, and passing them under the great-seal.

9. Authorizing commissioners to settle and regulate the Heralds Office, and to supply the offices of constable and marshal of England, in matters of arms.

10. An ordinance for securing of the 80,000 l. advanced, by and under the eight treasurers hereafter named, and for a further provision for the raising and maintaining of the forces under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax.

11. For the militia of London, and sub-committees, to press men.

12. For a monthly charge and tax of 2800 l. upon the county of Lincoln, for the defence and safety of the said county.

13. For the discharging of the members of both houses from all offices, both military and civil.

14. For the militia of London and Middlesex to press soldiers, and send to Maidenhead.

15. For enabling of the commissioners of the great-seal, and the other committees in their several counties, to tender an oath to all such persons, of what degree or quality soever, that shall come into the protection of the Parliament.

16. For exempting the university of Cambridge from taxations.

17. For regulating the university of Cambridge, and for removing of scandalous ministers in the seven associated counties.

18. For giving power to the commissioners of the customs to search for prohibited goods.

19. For continuing of the militia in the county of Middlesex.

20. For the settling of Mr. Philip Goodwin in the vicarage of Watford, and of Dr. Burges in the public lecture of the church of Paul's, London.

21. For constituting commissioners and a council of war in the county of Kent, for punishing either by death or otherwise such persons as were in the late rising in the said county.

22. For

22. For punishing soldiers impressed and forsaking their colors.

23. For raising monies out of delinquents estates, for maintaining horse and foot for the garrison of Gloucester, and county of Gloucester, &c.

24. For freeing and discharging the vintners from any demand for or concerning any delinquency.

25. Enabling the committee of Oxon, Bucks and Berks, to take voluntary subscriptions for maintaining of additional forces under the command of major-general Brown, for the taking of Oxford.

26. For authorizing treasurers to receive the arrears of an ordinance dated August 3d, 1645.

27. For a collection for relief of Taunton.

28. For the appointing of colonel Maffey commander in chief of the forces of the Western association.

29. For the raising of a monthly sum upon the county of Derby, for the payment of their forces, and other necessary expences for the public service.

30. For executing martial law in the garrison of Plymouth.

31. For giving Sir Thomas Fairfax power to press men in all towns and places where his army shall march.

32. For constituting commissioners, and a council of war, for trial of all persons in the late rising in the county of Kent.

33. Enabling the committee at Goldsmiths-Hall for the Scotch affairs, to manage the ordinance of the twentieth of February 1644, for the more speedy raising and paying of the 21,000 l. *per mensem*, for the four months therein mentioned, for payment of the army of our brethren of Scotland, now on their march towards the southern parts for the service of the kingdom.

34. For the more speedy getting-in of the monies in arrear, formerly imposed upon the bill of 400,000 l. the ordinances for the subsidies; weekly assessment and weekly meal within the city of London and liberties thereof.

35. Enabling the committee of Southampton to put in execution all ordinances of Parliament, for levying of money and raising of forces for the safety of the said county.

36. For the present raising of the sum of 31,000 l. according to the ordinance of both houses, bearing date the twentieth of February, 1644, and beginning March the first, 1644, is to be charged, taxed, raised and levied, upon several counties therein mentioned, to be forthwith sent to the Scots army now upon their march southward.

37. For the associating the counties of York, Lancaster,

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Nottingham, Bishopric of Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmoreland.

38. Constituting a committee for the raising of monies for the safety and defence of the county of Rutland.
39. Enabling commissioners to execute martial law upon all such persons as run away from their colors.
40. For appointing a committee of Lords and Commons to receive, prepare and consider of propositions for the speedy relief of Ireland.
41. For the raising of 20,000 l. to be employed towards the reducing of Oxford to the obedience of the Parliament.
42. For putting the county of Surry into a posture of defence, by the better regulating of the trained bands, and raising other forces of horse and foot, for the preservation and safety of the said county, and the pay of such foot as shall belong to the garrison of Farnham-Castle.
43. For the raising and collecting of 10,000 l. for and towards the redemption of distressed captives.
44. For raising of monies for maintaining of 500 horse, to be raised in the eastern association.
45. For relief of the counties of Oxon, Bucks, Berks and Southampton, &c.
46. For the levying and collecting of money in arrear in the county of Middlesex, and cities of London and Westminster, Borough of Southwark, and places adjacent.
47. For continuance of the assessements in the county of Northampton.
48. For impressing of men in London, Middlesex, Bucks, Berks and Oxon, for the reducing of Oxford.
49. For a monthly assessment upon the county of Lincoln.
50. For taxing of monies for the reducing of Newark.
51. Enabling the committee of the militia of London to search for Papists and other ill-affected persons that come out of the king's quarters.
52. For the continuance of the assessements for Sir Thomas Fairfax's army six months longer.
53. For continuance of the monthly assessements for the maintenance of the Scottish army.
54. For continuance of the weekly assessement for Ireland six months longer, with some additions and alterations for the further managing of the Irish affairs.
55. For the setting forth ships of war, for the more secure fishing for herring the next season, and for laying and imposing the duty of three shillings upon every last, each last containing 10,000 herrings, according to a former ordinance, dated August 26, 1644.

56. For the execution of the ordinances for weekly assessments in the western associations.

57. For an election of scholars in the college of Eton.

58. For ordaining a committee in the county of Lancaster.

59. For maintenance of the garrisons of Newport-Pagnel, Bedford, Lynn-Regis, and others in the eastern association.

60. For the raising of 500 horse, and 500 dragoons.

61. For the making void all commissions and warrants, or other writings issued forth in his majesty's name to captain Carteret, governor of Jersey.

62. Enabling the committee of Lords and Commons for the association of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, to hear and determine all differences between the committees, officers and soldiers of the county of Wilts.

63. Concerning 800 horse sent out of the eastern association for the safety of Lincolnshire.

64. For payment of the 800 horse under the command of major Haynes, sent out of the eastern association for the safety of Lincolnshire, and the said whole association, out of the excise, and for the keeping in of Newark forces, during the absence of colonel Roslter's horse, now under the command of major-general Poyntz.

65. For the relief and maintenance of the town, garrison and fort of Plymouth, and the island of St. Nicholas, out of the customs and subsidies granted in an ordinance of 23 September, 1644.

66. For the gathering of all arrears in the county of Essex, of the fifth and twentieth part of mens estates, and the weekly assessment, for raising and maintaining of the army late under the command of the earl of Manchester.

67. For the further supply of the British army in Ireland.

68. For reducing the accounts of excise upon the several ordinances to one and the same determination: And declaring from what time the comptroll upon the excise shall take its beginning.

69. For advancing by way of loan the sum of 40,000 l. for payment of Sir Thomas Fairfax's army.

70. For the advance of 3191 l. 5 s. 8 d. charged in course on the receipts of the excise, for pay of the waggoners employed in the city brigades, with interest for the same after the rate of eight pounds *per cent.* to be paid at every six months end.

71. For a contribution for relief of Leicester.

72. For those that shall come in from the king's quarters, without giving an account thereof within five days to the committee at Goldsmiths-Hall, to be taken as spies, and proceeded against by martial law.

A P P E N D I X.

73. For raising of money for payment of divers waggones.
74. For constituting and appointing a committee of Lords and Commons for the better ordering, directing and disposing of the rents, issues and profits belonging to the college and collegiate church of Westminster.
75. For an additional excise or new impost upon lead, gold, silver and copper thread ; gold, silver and copper wire ; glaſs and glaſſes made in the kingdom ; linseed-oil, whale-oil, pilchard, and all other oils made and spent in the kingdom ; ſilk, ſoap, woollen-cloth imported, and lamperns, for payment of artificers, &c.
76. For raising monies in the eastern association.
77. For the constituting and appointing of ſerjeant-major-general Skippon to be governor of the city and garrison of Bristol.
78. For the advance of 31,000 l. by way of loan, towards the payment of the Scotch army.
79. For maintenance of divers preaching ministers in the North.
80. For payment of waggones.
81. For the making of the precinct of Covent-Garden parochial.
82. For the continuance of treaſurers at war, and the committee of the army.
83. For punishing imprefſed ſoldiers that run away from their colors.
84. Enabling the militia of London to preſs ſoldiers.
85. For raiſing horſe for the defence of the city of London.
86. Concerning certain instructions to be iſſued by the committee for the Admiralty and cinque-ports.
87. For imprefſing mariners, ſailors, watermen, chirurgeons, and others, for the navy.
88. Enabling ſaltpetre-men to make gunpowder.
89. For 20,000 l. to be paid out of the excife, to the forces raiſed by the eastern association for blocking up Newark.
90. For the continuance of the weekly aſſessment, for relief of the British army in Ireland.

A N N O 1646.

1. An ordinance for the continuance of excife, or new impost, until the 29th of September 1648.
2. For the preſent ſettling without further delay of the Presbyterial government in the church of England.
3. For ordination of ministers by the claſſical Presbyters within

within their respective bounds, for the several congregations within the kingdom of England.

4. For the abolishing of archbishops and bishops within the kingdom of England, and dominion of Wales, and for settling of their lands and possessions upon trustees, for the use of the commonwealth.

5. For securing all those who shall advance the two hundred thousand pounds for the service of the state.

6. For the settling of the lands of all the bishops in the kingdom of England, and dominion of Wales, for the service of the commonwealth, with the instructions and names of all the contractors and trustees, for the speedy execution of the same.

7. For explanation and better putting in execution the late ordinance, entitled, An ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for appointing the sale of bishops lands for the use of the commonwealth.

8. Touching the alteration and explanation of the oath formerly appointed to be taken by the surveyors of bishops lands.

9. For encouragement of adventurers to the several plantations of Virginia, Bermudas, Barbadoes, and other places of America.

10. For establishing commissioners of Lords and Commons to sit at Goldsmiths-Hall, to compound with delinquents, and to act according to the several orders and ordinances already made by both houses of Parliament, concerning a committee at Goldsmiths-Hall.

11. For the better explaining and executing the ordinance for sale of bishops lands.

12. For lessening the number of the trustees for sale of bishops lands.

13. For continuing of several ordinances of Parliament concerning the subsidy of tonnage and poundage, till the 26th of March 1648.

14. An ordinance for maintenance for preaching ministers in the city and county of Hereford.

15. For the speedy establishing of a court-martial within the cities of London and Westminster, and lines of communication.

16. For the further continuance of assessments for four months longer, for Sir Thomas Fairfax's army.

17. To command all Papists, officers and soldiers of fortune, and such as have borne arms against the Parliament, to depart and remove themselves twenty miles at the least distant from the city of London, &c. by May 12, 1646.

18. For the advancing of monies upon the credit of several ordinances for assessments for Ireland.

19. For

A P P E N D I X.

19. For the sessions of assizes to be held in the castle of Lancaster on the third day of August next ensuing.
20. For discharge of the commissioners for one year's account, ending the eleventh of September, 1644.
21. For the sleighting and demolishing of several garrisons, and for a speedy supply of forces to be sent to the relief of the Protestants in Ireland.
22. For explanation of a former ordinance of 24 November, 1645, for additional excise to pay artificers.
23. For the dividing of the church of Holland, in the county of Lancaster, with the precincts thereof, from the rest of the parish of Wigan, and making it a distinct church and parish of itself.
24. For appointing the speakers of both houses of Parliament commissioners of the great-seal, with the commission for hearing causes in Chancery.
25. For appointing Sir Richard Gurnie's house to be employed for the keeping the records, &c. for sale of bishops lands.
26. For the better observation of the monthly fafts.
27. Touching the arrears of the garrisons in the eastern association.
28. For removing all Papists and soldiers of fortune, and other delinquents, twenty miles distant from London, before the 18th of this instant December.
29. Concerning the growth and spreading of errors and blasphemies, and setting apart a day of humiliation touching the same.
30. Concerning the excise, with additional instructions for the better regulating the same.

A N N O 1647.

1. An ordinance for the visitation and reformation of the universities of Oxford, and the several colleges and halls therein.
2. For the securing all those who advance 200,000 l. for the service of this kingdom, and of the kingdom of Ireland.
3. For indemnity or saving harmlesis all those who have acted or done any thing by sea or land for authority of Parliament.
4. For taking the accounts of the soldiery of the whole kingdom, with instructions concerning the same.
5. For relief of maimed soldiers and mariners, and the widows and orphans of such as have died in the service of the Parliament during these late wars.
6. For the raising 42,000 l. and for explanation of the former

mer ordinance for raising of 200,000 l. for the service of this kingdom, and the kingdom of Ireland.

7. For the more full indemnity of the officers and soldiers who have acted by the authority and for the service of the Parliament.

8. For abolishing of festivals.

9. For raising of monies to be employed towards the maintenance of the forces within the kingdom under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and for speedy transporting of, and paying the forces for carrying on the war of Ireland.

10. Concerning days of recreation allowed unto scholars, apprentices, and other servants.

11. For the disposing of fines and forfeitures, levied and raised for non-payment, or otherwise touching the excise.

12. For the true payment of tythes and other duties.

13. For the relief and maintenance of maimed soldiers and mariners, and the widows and orphans of such as have died in the service of the Parliament, during these late wars.

14. For declaring all votes, orders and ordinances passed in one or both houses since the force on both houses, July 26, until the sixth of this present August, 1647, to be null and void.

15. For keeping in godly ministers, placed in livings by authority of Parliament.

16. For regulating the sale of bishops lands, and expediting the conveyances thereof.

17. For re-establishing the duty of excise upon all commodities, except flesh and salt ; shewing the grounds and reasons which necessitated the erecting and continuing the said duty, and the great benefit which hath ensued to the kingdom thereby ; together with an account of the monies collected, and how the same have been disposed.

18. That from henceforth no clipped monies, filed or diminished, shall be payable or received in payment within this kingdom.

19. For payment of monies due upon bonds entered into in the court of Wards and Liveries, or due by composition before the vote for taking away the said court.

20. Concerning sequestered book-evidences and writings.

21. For the better security and encouragement of all and every such person and persons, bodies politic and corporate, as already have, or hereafter shall become purchaser from the trustees of any manors, lands, &c. late belonging to any archbishop or bishop within the realm of England or dominion of Wales, and the manner for ensuring the same to the purchaser, with the time limited for the perfecting of their conveyances.

22. Against

A P P E N D I X.

- 22. Against unlicensed or scandalous pamphlets, and for the better regulating of printing.
- 23. For disabling delinquents to bear any office or place of trust, or have any voice or vote in elections.
- 24. For the lord-mayor and city of London, and the justices of peace to suppress stage-plays and interludes.
- 25. For limiting a time for payment of the fourth part of adventurers for lands in Ireland.
- 26. For establishing the subsidy of tonnage and poundage, together with the book of rates, from the 26th of March, 1648, until the 26th of March, 1651.
- 27. Giving power to the committee of indemnity to put in execution the ordinance concerning apprentices freedoms.
- 28. For the more effectual relief of maimed soldiers.
- 29. For raising 50,000 l. for Ireland, and securing it by several delinquents estates.
- 30. For prohibiting the transportation out of this kingdom of England, Ireland and Wales, all wool, woollen yarn, wool-fells, fuller-earth, clay, &c. to any part beyond the seas.
- 31. For the speedy dividing and settling the several counties of this kingdom into distinct classical presbyteries and congregational elderships.
- 32. For repairing churches, and for payment of church-duties.
- 33. For utter suppression and abolishing of all stage-plays and interludes, within the penalties to be inflicted on the actors and spectators therein expressed.
- 34. For raising twenty thousand pounds by the month, for six months, for the relief of Ireland.
- 35. For removing obstructions in the sale of reversions of bishops lands.
- 36. An additional ordinance for the explanation and better execution of former ordinances for the sale of the lands and possessions of the late archbishops and bishops, within the realm of England and dominion of Wales.
- 37. An ordinance for the enabling the committee for the militia of London to make searches, and to raise horses.
- 38. For appointing colonel Gower, Mr. Anthony Bickerstaffe, Mr. James Story, Mr. Maximilian Beard, citizens of London, treasurers for receiving and paying of monies to the soldiers.
- 39. For indemnity to the soldiery.
- 40. For commanding all Papists, officers, soldiers of fortune, and all other delinquents who have adhered unto or assisted the enemy in the late war against the Parliament of England, to depart out of the lines of communication and twenty miles distant.

distant, before the fourteenth of this instant July, 1647, or else to be imprisoned and proceeded against as traitors.

41. For disbanding soldiers, and others pretending to be reduced, to depart from the cities of London and Westminster, by the fifteenth of this instant July, 1647.

42. For enabling the committee for the militia of London to make searches, and to raise 600 horse.

43. For constituting and settling of the committee of the militia of the city of London, with the names of the persons intrusted therewith.

44. For repealing the ordinance of the 23d of this instant July, entitled, An ordinance for settling the militia of London, and for putting in force the ordinance of the fourth of May, 1647.

45. For repealing the declaration of the 24th of July instant.

46. For enabling the militia of the city of London to punish soldiers not repairing to their colors, and also giving power to the said militia to elect and chuse a major-general, or other officers, for the forces raised within the city of London.

47. For making the lord Fairfax high-constable of the Tower.

48. For the relief of Chester.

49. For relief of the distressed Protestants come out of Ireland.

50. For constituting and settling of the committee of the militia of the city of London, with the names of the persons therein expressed.

51. For a committee of the militia of the city of Westminster, Savoy, Clements Danes, Giles in the Fields, Andrews Holborn, &c. in the county of Middlesex.

52. For all delinquents to bring in their fines due upon bonds to the commissioners sitting at Goldsmiths-Hall, or else their estates to be sequestered till payment thereof.

53. For requiring the payment of all fee-farm rents, and other rents due to the king by members of Parliament.

54. For members of both houses to be a committee for the army, for disposing the 60,000 l. a-month, and appointing treasurers at war.

55. For giving security for the present loan of 32,000 l. for the present service of the kingdom of England and Ireland.

56. For bringing-in the arrears of the assessments for Sir Thomas Fairfax's army.

57. For settling of the mayor, sheriffs, and establishing officers for the city of Chester.

58. For the constant relief and employment of the poor, and punishment of vagrants, and other disorderly persons in the city of London and liberties thereof.

59. For

A P P E N D I X.

59. For defraying the salaries and charges of the committee and sub-committees of accounts.
60. For appointing the committee of sequestrations in the several counties of England and Wales, speedily to deliver in an account of all the sequestered lands and goods, and how they have been disposed of.
61. The names of the peers added to the committee of the navy and customs.
62. For putting out of the city of London and Westminster, and late lines of communication, and twenty miles distant, for six months, all delinquents, Papists, and others who have been in arms against the Parliament.
63. Concerning the chusing of common-council-men, and other officers, in the city of London.
64. For payment of the soldiery out of bishops lands remaining unengaged.
65. For securing of soldiers arrears out of delinquents estates.
66. For disbanding all supernumerary forces under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and that no officer or soldier, after the fifteenth of January, 1647, shall have any free quarter.
67. For speedy auditing the accounts of disbanded forces, and securing their arrears, and indemnity for their actions in the time of the late war.
68. For enabling the committee for indemnity to put in execution the additional ordinances for indemnity.
69. For enabling the several commissioners in the respective counties to make a collector for the monthly assessment of 60,000l.
70. For payment of the soldiery out of the receipts of the moiety of the excise.
71. Security and encouragement to purchasers of bishops lands.
72. For constituting a committee for the militia within the hamlets of the Tower of London.
73. For enabling a committee in the county of Kent, to put in execution all former ordinances of Parliament concerning indemnity.
74. For re-imbursement of money out of the excise in course to the committee of the eastern associations.
75. For re-imburſing 10,000l. to the commissioners for excise.
76. For raising 8000l. a year for the prince-elector.
77. For raising monies to be employed for the maintenance of the army under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax.
78. For payment of tythes.

A N N O 1648.

1. An ordinance for the better payment of tythes and duties to the ministers of the city of London.
2. For the indemnifying and saving harmless all such persons who have acted or done, or who hereafter shall act or do, any thing by authority or for the service of the Parliament, and also for appointing a committee in the county of Kent for the same purpose.
3. For settling the jurisdiction of the court of Admiralty.
4. For the farther ascertaining the arrears of the soldiers upon their debentures, and securing all those who shall purchase the same.
5. For the punishing of blasphemies and heresies, with the several penalties therein expressed.
6. For the explaining and enlarging of an ordinance made the 13th of January, 1647, for raising 50,000 l. for the speedy relief of Ireland, and reducing the rebels there.
7. For taking, stating, and determining the accounts of all such officers and soldiers, or widows of the said officers and soldiers, who have served the Parliament in the late wars, and who have not been under the entertainment and pay of the particular counties or associations of this kingdom, nor are of the present army under the command of the lord Fairfax.
8. For removing obstructions in the sale of bishops lands.
9. The form of church-government to be used in the church of England and Ireland, agreed upon by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, after advice had with the assembly of divines.
10. For continuing of the assessment of 60,000 l. *per mensem* for six months longer, for maintenance of the army under the lord-general.
11. Concerning the company of merchants trading into France.
12. For the true payment of tythes and other duties; and for continuance of an ordinance of the 9th of August, 1647.
13. For enabling a committee of Lords and Commons to remove obstructions in the sale of the lands of the late arch-bishops and bishops.
14. For authorising the committee of Lords and Commons for the army, and treasurers at war, for the better levying and orderly paying forth the 60,000 l. *per mensem*, assessed or to be assessed by virtue of several ordinances of Parliament.
15. An ordinance for uniting certain churches, and for maintenance of preaching ministers in the city of Gloucester.
16. For authorising Thomas Andrews, Maurice Thompson, Esqrs.

Esqrs. to be treasurers for the receipt of all such monies as shall be collected by virtue of an ordinance of the sixteenth of February, 1647, entitled, An ordinance of the Lords and Commons for raising 20,000l. a-month for the relief of Ireland.

17. For settling of the militia of the Borough of Southwark, with the names of the committee for execution of the same.

18. For dividing the parish of Rotham in Kent into several precincts and parishes.

19. For the raising 6000l. for payment of the 400 soldiers added to the forces already in the Tower of London.

20. For continuance of the committee for the army, and treasurers at war.

21. For the bringing-in the arrears of the assessments for the army within the city of London, and liberties thereof.

22. For the redressing of the oppressions of soldiers, by taking free-quarter, contrary to the orders of Parliament.

23. For the constituting and settling of the committee of the militia of the city of London, and also appointing colonel West lieutenant of the Tower.

24. For constituting major-general Skippon to command all the forces raised or to be raised within the city of London, late lines of communication, and weekly bills of mortality.

25. For suppressing of tumultuous assemblies, under pretence of presenting petitions to the Parliament.

26. For settling the militia in the northern counties.

27. For putting malignants and Papists out of the cities of London and Westminster, late lines of communication, and twenty miles distant.

28. For settling the militia of the county of Hereford.

29. For the speedy getting in the arrears of such money as is assessed in the city of London, and liberties thereof, for the maintaining of the forces raised by authority of Parliament.

30. For raising a troop of horse in Lincolnshire.

31. For putting all delinquents, Papists, ministers, officers and soldiers of fortune, who have adhered to the enemy, during the late war, out of the cities of London and Westminster, late lines of communication, and twenty miles distant.

32. For sequestration of the estates of major general Langhorn, and other delinquents in rebellion in Wales.

33. For settling a committee for the militia in the county of Lincoln.

34. For adding persons to the committee for sequestrations in the county of Westmorland, and for payment of 4000l. to colonel Ralph Ashton.

35. For empowering major-general Skippon to enlist volunteers, and to conduct and lead them out of the late lines of communication, as he shall see occasion, &c.

36. For

36. For establishing a committee for settling the militia in the county of Middlesex.
37. For the better regulating and ordering the sequestrations of the estates of Papists and delinquents, and for reforming and preventing of abuses in the managing of the same.
38. For authorizing Robert earl of Warwick, lord high admiral of England, to execute martial law upon such captains, commanders, officers, mariners, seamen and soldiers, as shall not be subject to his power and authority.
39. For the associating five counties in North-Wales.
40. For the better regulating and speedy bringing-in the sequestration-monies arising out of the real and personal estates of Papists and delinquents, already or hereafter to be sequestered, according to former ordinances of Parliament.
41. For enabling commissioners in the county of Wilts to raise horse and foot for the defence of the said county, with their names therein expressed, and also to assess monies to pay all such forces so raised.
42. For enabling the committee of the county of Worcester, to raise 100 horse, and 300 foot, to suppress all tumults in the said county, with power to assess 100l. *per week*, for the maintenance of those forces.
43. For repaying 10,000l. borrowed for defraying the charge of the treaty.
44. For raising 8000l. *per annum* for the prince-elector.
45. For payment of augmentations out of the rents of bishops lands.
46. For payment of horse-guards who attend the Parliament.
47. For the sequestering the estates, both real and personal, of delinquents, to be employed for and towards the raising and maintaining of a troop of horse for the service of the Parliament within the county of Surry.
48. For payment of the horse-guards who attend the Parliament.
49. For settling the militia in the several counties, cities and places within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed.
50. For repealing an ordinance of the 29th of August 1645, touching the county of Lancaster.
51. For repealing the former ordinance for settling the militia of the whole kingdom.
52. For the chusing of common-council-men, and other officers within the city of London and liberties thereof, for the year ensuing.
53. Touching the election of common council-men, and other officers in the city of London.

A P P E N D I X.

1. AN ACT touching the regulating of the officers of the navy and customs.
2. For the adjourning of part of the term of Hilary.
3. For the altering of several names and forms heretofore used in courts, writs, grants, patents, &c. and settling proceedings in courts of law, justice and equity within the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed.
4. Prohibiting the proclaiming any person to be king of England or Ireland, or the dominions thereof.
5. For the further adjournment of part of Hilary-term.
6. To prevent the printing of any the proceedings in the high-court of justice erected for trying of James earl of Cambridge and others, without leave of the house of Commons, or the said court.
7. For repeal of several clauses in the statutes of 1 *Eliz.* and 3 *Jacobi*, touching the oaths of allegiance, obedience and supremacy.
8. For the form of an oath to be administred to every free-man at his admission to his freedom in the city of London, and in all cities, boroughs and towns corporate in England and Wales.
9. For the more easy passing the accounts of sheriffs.
10. For better settling of proceedings in courts of justice, according to the present government.
11. For further enabling and authorising justices of peace, sheriffs, and other ministers of justice therein named, to act and proceed in the execution of their offices and duties, until their several commissions shall come unto them.
12. For encouragement of officers and mariners, and impressing seamen.
13. For repealing the power formerly given to the lord admiral, and transferring it to the council of state.
14. For authorising colonel Blake, colonel Popham and colonel Dean, or any two of them, to be admirals and generals of the fleet now at sea.
15. A supplemental act for encouragement of officers and mariners, and impressing of seamen.
16. For keeping a day of humiliation upon Thursday the 19th day of April, 1649.
17. For the abolishing the kingly office in England and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.
18. For the abolishing the house of peers.
19. An act for settling the militia of London and liberties thereof.
20. A declaration for maintaining the fundamental laws of the nation.
21. For

21. For removing obstructions in the proceedings of the common-council, London.

22. For keeping a day of humiliation on the 19th of April, 1649.

23. For settling the militia of the city of Westminster and liberties thereof, with the parishes and places adjacent of the county of Middlesex, within the weekly bills of mortality, and late lines of communication, except the hamlets of the Tower.

A N N O 1649.

1. An act for raising of 90,000 l. *per mensem*, for the maintenance of the forces raised by authority of Parliament, for the service of England and Ireland, for six months, from the 25th of March 1649, to the 29th of September 1649.

2. Prescribing certain times to delinquents for perfecting their compositions effectually, under several penalties.

3. For appointing treasurers at war for receiving and issuing forth of the monies to be assessed, levied, and paid by virtue of an act of the 7th of April instant, for 90,000 l. *per mensem*.

4. Declaring the grounds and causes of making prize the ships and goods which shall be taken from time to time by the Parliament's ships at sea, and for the encouragement of officers, mariners and seamen.

5. For appointing commissioners for sale of prize goods.

6. For the court of Admiralty to proceed to sentence, notwithstanding prohibitions to the contrary.

7. For the abolishing of deans, deans and chapters, canons, prebends and other officers and titles of or belonging to any cathedral or collegiate church or chapel within England and Wales.

8. For the more certain and constant supply of the soldiery with pay, and the preventing any further oppression or damage of the people by free quarter or billet.

9. For adding commissioners for the assessment of 90,000 l. *per mensem*.

10. Declaring and constituting the people of England to be a common and free state.

11. For the present examining and stating the accounts of the officers and soldiers now in the Parliament's service within this nation.

12. For draining of the great level of the fens, extending itself into the counties of Northampton, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln, Cambridge and Huntingdon, and the Isle of Ely, or some of them.

A P P E N D I X.

13. For setting apart a day of public thanksgiving, and declaring the reasons and grounds thereof.
14. Instructions for the trustees, treasurer and register accountant, for the sale of the deans and chapters lands, for the admitting such as have monies owing them by the Parliament to double the same upon the credit of the lands of the deans and chapters.
15. For providing maintenance for preaching ministers and other pious uses.
16. For paying one penny upon every gallon for excise on all foreign salt.
17. For the relief of all such persons as have been, are, or shall be sued, molested, or any ways damnified, contrary to articles or conditions granted in time of war.
18. Touching salaries to treasurers, &c. for dean and chapters lands, &c.
19. For removing obstructions in the sale of bishops lands, and dean and chapters lands.
20. For encouragement of purchasers of deans and chapters lands.
21. Touching letters of mart.
22. Touching the first 200,000l. charged on the receipt of the excise.
23. For borrowing 150,000l. upon the first 400,000l. charged on the excise.
24. For sale of the goods and personal estate of the late king, queen and prince.
25. For sale of the honors, manors and lands heretofore belonging to the late king, queen and prince.
26. Touching the monies and coins of England.
27. Declaring what offences shall be adjudged treason.
28. For the promoting and propagating the gospel of Jesus Christ in New England.
29. Further instructions to the trustees, contractors, treasurers and registers for the sale of the lands and possessions of the late deans, subdeans, deans and chapters; and for the better and more speedy execution of the former acts, ordinances and instructions made concerning the same.
30. For continuing the assessment of 90,000l. *per mensem*, for three months longer, viz. from 29 September 1649, to the 29 December following.
31. For taking of the accounts belonging to the navy and customs.
32. For the admitting the six counties of North-Wales to a general composition for their delinquency.
33. For

33. For the speedy raising and levying of monies by way of new impost or excise.

34. Giving power to the committee of indemnity, to transmit the examination of all such articles or informations as shall be exhibited against any malignant or delinquent magistrate, or other ill-affected officer, to justices of peace in the several counties.

35. For stating the accounts of such general officers, staff-officers, and other officers and artificers of the train, lately entertained in the service of Ireland.

36. For the admitting of the purchasers of bishops lands to pay their whole purchase-monies by Weavers-Hall bills.

37. For prohibiting the importing of any wines, wool or silk from the kingdom of France into the commonwealth of England or Ireland, or any the dominions thereunto belonging.

38. Touching the second 400,000 l. charged on the receipts of the excise and Goldsmiths-Hall.

39. For discharging poor prisoners unable to satisfy their creditors.

40. Concerning oaths to mayors and other officers.

41. For relief of felt-makers and hatband-makers against aliens and strangers importing such wares, to the hindrance of their manufactures.

42. Prohibiting to brew for sale any ale or beer above 10 s. the barrel, besides the excise.

43. Against unlicensed and scandalous books and pamphlets; and for better regulating of printing.

44. For punishment of crimes committed upon or beyond the seas.

45. For taking and receiving the accounts of the commonwealth, with instructions concerning the same.

46. Further instructions to the treasurers, trustees, contractors, register, surveyors, and other persons employed in the sale of the honors, manors and lands belonging to the late king, queen and prince, and for the stating of accounts.

47. For an assessment of six months, from the 25th of December 1649, for maintenance of the forces.

48. For discharging from imprisonment poor prisoners unable to satisfy their creditors.

49. For continuing the committee for the army and treasurers at war.

50. For subscribing of the engagement.

51. For the better ordering and managing the estates of Papists and delinquents.

52. For removing of obstructions in the sale of the honors, manors and lands of the late king, queen and prince.

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53. For the better propagation and preaching of the gospel in Wales, and redress of some grievances.

54. For giving further time for the subscribing the engagement.

55. For removing all Papists, and all officers and soldiers of fortune, and divers other delinquents, from London and Westminster, and confining them within five miles of their dwellings, and for encouragement of such as discover priests and Jesuits, their receivers and abettors.

56. For impressing seamen.

57. For the better advancement of the gospel and learning in Ireland.

58. For redress of delays and mischiefs by writs of error in several cases.

59. For the selling fee farm rents belonging to the commonwealth of England, formerly payable to the crown of England, duchy of Lancastler, and duchy of Cornwall.

60. For the better packing of butter, and redress of abuses therein.

61. An act for setting apart a day of solemn fasting and humiliation, and repealing the former monthly fast.

62. For relief and employment of the poor, and the punishment of vagrants and other disorderly persons within the city of London, and liberties thereof.

63. Declaring what offences shall be adjudged treason.

64. For settling the militia within the Tower of London.

65. For setting apart a day of public thanksgiving, and declaring the reaons and grounds thereof.

66. Touching bonds of custom and excise.

67. For enabling the judges of the northern circuit, to hold an assize at Durham on Thursday the second of August, 1649.

68. For the sessions of assizes to be held and kept in the castle of Lancaster, upon Wednesday the seventh of September next ensuing.

69. For settling the militia of the Borough of Southwark, and parishes adjacent, mentioned in the weekly bills of mortality, on the south side of the river of Thames, in the county of Surry, with the names of the persons intrusted therewith.

70. Giving power to the committee of indemnity, to transmit the examination of all such articles or informations as shall be exhibited against any malignant or delinquent magistrate, or other ill-affected officers, to justices of peace in the several counties.

71. Act and declaration for a day of public thanksgiving, to be kept on Wednesday the 29th of August 1649, declaring the reasons and grounds thereof.

72. An act for settling islands in the West-Indies.
73. For the continuance and maintenance of the school and alms-houses of Westminster.
74. For a day of public thanksgiving to be observed throughout England and Wales, on Thursday the first of November 1650, and a declaration of the grounds thereof.
75. For disabling the elections of divers persons to any office or place of trust within the city of London, and the votes of such persons in such elections.
76. Concerning the election of questmen, constables, and all other subordinate officers whatsoever, within the city of London and liberties thereof.
77. For appointing Thursday, the last day of February, 1649, for a solemn day of humiliation, fasting and prayer, and declaring the grounds thereof.

A N N O 1650.

1. An act for establishing a high court of justice.
2. For redemption of captives.
3. Touching the way of collecting the excise for ale and beer brewed and spent in private families.
4. For the more frequent preaching of the gospel, and better maintenance of ministers in the city of Bristol.
5. For providing maintenance for ministers and other pious uses.
6. For further ease and relief for poor prisoners.
7. For preventing injuries and wrongs done to merchants at sea in their persons, ships, or goods, and prohibiting mariners from serving foreign princes or states without license.
8. Empowering several commissioners to put in execution all and every the powers and authorities heretofore given to the commissioners for compounding with delinquents, and for managing of all estates under sequestration, and to the committee for advance of money, formerly sitting at Haberdashers-hall.
9. For the better observation of the Lord's Day, days of thanksgiving and humiliation, together with a collection of former laws, statutes, and ordinances now in force for observation of the said days.
10. For suppressing the detestable sins of incest, adultery, and fornication.
11. For securing such monies as shall be advanced and lent for the use of the navy and army, together with interest for the same, to be paid out of the two hundred thousand pounds, remainder of the four hundred thousand pounds, charged upon the grand excise.

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12. For an assessment for six months, from the 24th day of June, 1650, for the maintenance of the forces raised by authority of Parliament, for the service of England and Ireland, at the rate of 90,000 l. for the first three months, and at the rate of 60,000 l. *per mensem*, for the last three months.
13. For the better payment of augmentations out of inappropriate rectories, vicarages, and tythes sequestered from Papists and delinquents.
14. For enabling the militia of the city of London to raise horse within the said city and liberties, for defence of the Parliament, city of London, and liberties thereof, and the parts adjacent.
15. For the continuance of the committee for the army and treasurers at war.
16. For the better preventing of profane swearing and cursing.
17. For sheriffs to appoint deputies, who are to receive and transmit the acts, orders, and directions of the Parliament and council of state; and the respective sheriffs to make returns thereof, as they shall be enjoined by the Parliament or council.
18. For settling of the militia of the Commonwealth of England.
19. Concerning mortgages, extents, &c. upon delinquents estates.
20. For the advancing and regulating of the trade of this Commonwealth.
21. To prohibit all commerce and traffic between England and Scotland, and enjoining the departure of Scots out of this Commonwealth.
22. Against several atheistical, blasphemous, and execrable opinions, derogatory to the honor of God, and destructive to human society.
23. For the further explanation of the former act, entitled, An act for the selling the fee-farm rents belonging to the Commonwealth of England, formerly payable to the crown of England, duchy of Lancaster, and duchy of Cornwall.
24. Giving further power to the high court of justice.
25. For the encouragement and indemnity of such persons as voluntarily engage themselves in the service of the Parliament, in this time of common danger.
26. For appointing commissioners of the excise.
27. For relief of religious and peaceable people from the rigor of former acts of parliament in matters of religion.
28. For prohibiting trade with the Barbadoes, Virginia, Bermudas, and Antigua.
29. For

29. For sale of the manors of rectories and glebe-lands, late belonging to archbishops, bishops, deans, deans and chapters.

30. For the more speedy effecting of the sale of the manors of rectories and glebe-lands, late belonging to archbishops, bishops, deans, deans and chapters, and other offices and titles, which late were of or belonging to any cathedral, or collegiate church or chapel within England or Wales; and for the better encouragement of lenders upon the security thereof, and of other lands and hereditaments of the said deans, deans and chapters.

31. Touching corn and meal.

32. For settled convoys for securing the trade of this nation.

33. Prohibiting trade to Scotland.

34. For easing the charge of lords of manors or liberties, and their bailiffs, in passing their accounts in the court of the public exchequer.

35. For making ships and merchandizes, taken, or to be taken, from the king of Portugal, or any of his subjects, to be prize.

36. For regulating the making of stuffs in Norfolk and Norwich.

37. For turning the books of the law, and all process and proceedings in courts of justice, into English.

38. For raising the sum of 120,000 l. *per mensem*, for four months, to commence the 25th of December, 1650, for maintenance of the forces in England, Ireland and Scotland, raised by authority of Parliament for the service of this commonwealth.

39. For George Manby, to prohibit any to make use of his invention for the boiling of all sorts of liquors for fourteen years.

40. For establishing an high court of justice within the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Lincoln, and the counties of the cities of Norwich and Lincoln, and within the Isle of Ely.

41. Touching the importation of bullion.

42. For the continuance of the committee for the army and treasurers at war.

43. Enabling the lords commissioners for custody of the great seal of England, to issue commissions of delegates in cases of pretended marriages.

44. For taking away the fee of *Damage Cleere*, or *Damna Clericorum*.

45. For a seal of the Parliament of the commonwealth of England.

46. For

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46. For continuance of the former acts for settling the militia of this commonwealth.
47. For sale of the fee-farm rents, and for the doubling of monies thereupon.
48. For establishing the power of the lord-admiral of England, and lord-warden of the cinque ports, upon the council of state.
49. For impressing of seamen.
50. For authorising colonel Popham, colonel Blake, and colonel Dean, or any two of them, to be admiral and general of the fleet.
51. For continuance of the customs until the 26th of March, in the year 1653.
52. For continuing an act, entitled, An act for removing all Papists and all officers and soldiers of fortune, and divers other delinquents, from London and Westminster, and confining them within five miles of their dwellings, and for encouragement of such as shall discover priests and Jesuits, their receivers and abettors.
53. An act for appointing of Richard Aske, Robert Nicholas, John Puleston, Peter Warburton, Francis Thorpe, and Alexander Rigby, to be commissioners in the act, entitled, An act for establishing of an high court of justice.
54. Appointing Thursday the 13th of June, 1650, to be kept as a day of fasting and humiliation, and declaring the reasons and grounds thereof.
55. For constituting major-general Skippon to be major-general and commander in chief of all the forces within the city of London, the late lines of communication, and weekly bills of mortality.
56. For repealing an act and ordinance of Parliament, whereby Sir Thomas Fairfax, now Thomas lord Fairfax, was constituted commander in chief of the Parliament's forces, and for continuing divers commissions by him granted, as captain-general or commander in chief of the said forces.
57. For trial of Sir John Stowell, knight of the Bath, David Jenkins, Walter Slingsby, Esqrs. Brown Bushel, William Davenant, otherwife called Sir William Davenant, and colonel Gerard.
58. For setting apart a day of public thanksgiving, to be kept on Friday the 26th of this instant July, together with a declaration and narrative, expressing the grounds and reasons thereof.
59. For enabling the committee for the militia of Westminster to raise horse within the city and liberties thereof, and parishes and places adjacent, for defence of the Parliament, city and parts aforesaid.
60. Authorising

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60. Authorising the committee of the militia of London to put in execution the powers and authorities contained in an ordinance of Parliament, of the 3d of December, 1644, entitled, An ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the raising of the money to pay the charge of the fortification and guards, and other necessaries.

61. Enabling the judges of assize to hold an assize at Duresme, on Monday the 12th of August, 1650.

62. Act and declaration touching a pamphlet, entitled, A declaration by the king's majesty to his subjects of the kingdom of Scotland, England, and Ireland, printed at Edinburgh, 1650.

63. For setting apart Tuesday the 8th of October next, for a day of public thanksgiving, together with a narrative and declaration of the grounds and reasons thereof.

64. For continuing two former acts touching elections in the city of London.

65. For setting apart Thursday the thirteenth day of January, 1650, for a day of public thanksgiving, together with a declaration of the grounds and reasons thereof.

66. For setting apart a day of public fasting and humiliation to be observed on Thursday the thirtieth day of March 1651, within the cities of London and Middlesex, and the late lines of communication, and on the second of April 1651, in all other places within this commonwealth, together with a declaration of the reasons and grounds thereof.

67. For declaring Thomas Cook, Esq. a traitor, unless he come in and render himself in custody to the serjeant at arms within four days.

A N N O 1651.

1. An act for laying an imposition upon coals, towards the building and maintaining of ships for guarding the seas.

2. For continuing the jurisdiction of the court of Admiralty.

3. Concerning the new invention of melting down iron, and other metals, with stone-coals, and other metals with stone-coals and other coals, without charking thereof.

4. An additional act concerning the proceedings of the law in English.

5. For continuing the assessment of 120,000 l. *per mensem*, for six months, from the 25th of March, 1651, for maintenance of the armies in England, Ireland, and Scotland.

6. For adding commissioners for the assessment.

7. For the impressing of soldiers for the service of the commonwealth in Ireland.

8. For

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8. For continuance of the committee for the army and treasurers at war.
9. For continuing the high court of justice.
10. For enabling the judges of the northern circuit to hold an assize at Durham, on Monday the eleventh day of August, 1651.
11. For the sale of several lands and estates forfeited to the commonwealth for treason.
12. For the sale of the goods belonging to the late king, queen, and prince.
13. Against stealing or killing of deer.
14. For prohibiting any person to take above 6 l. for loan of 100 l. by the year.
15. Prohibiting correspondence with Charles Stewart or his party.
16. Concerning the militias of the respective counties within this commonwealth.
17. An act with instructions to the commissioners of the respective militia.
18. For the further continuing of the assessment of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds a-month, for three months, from the 29th of September, 1651, for maintenance of the armies in England, Ireland and Scotland.
19. Enabling the commissioners of the militia to raise monies for the present service of this commonwealth.
20. For the continuance of the committee for the army and treasurers at war.
21. For continuing the high court of justice.
22. For providing for maimed soldiers and widows of Scotland and Ireland.
23. For increase of shipping, and encouragement of the navigation of this nation.
24. For raising of 90,000 l. a-month, for six months, to commence the 25th of December, 1651, for maintenance of the forces in England, Ireland, and Scotland, raised by the authority of Parliament, for the service of this commonwealth.
25. For appointing a committee for the army and treasurers at war.
26. An act for the continuance of a former act, entitled, An act empowering several commissioners to put in execution all and every the powers and authorities heretofore given to the commissioners for compounding with delinquents, until the 1st of November, 1652.
27. For making void all titles of honor, dignity, or precedences given by the late king, since the 4th of January, 1641.
28. Of general pardon and oblivion.

29. For

29. For the better and more effectual discovery and prosecution of thieves and highwaymen.
30. For impressing of seamen.
31. An act for the further enabling the trustees for sale of the several lands of the late king, queen and prince, to give security of the said lands on several debentures.
32. For making navigable the river of Wye.
33. For reviving and continuing of several acts of Parliament touching the militias of the city of Westminster, Borough of Southwark, and the hamlets of the Tower of London.
34. For empowering the militia of the city of London to raise horse.
35. Empowering the respective militias of London, the hamlets of the Tower, Southwark and Westminster, to raise foot.
36. For setting apart Friday the twenty-fourth day of October 1651, for a day of public thanksgiving, together with a narrative declaring the reasons and grounds thereof.
37. For continuing an act for advance and regulating the trade of this commonwealth, until the last of December, 1651.
38. For continuing two former acts touching elections in the city of London.
39. For the execution of a judgment given in Parliament against lieutenant-colonel John Lilbourn.

A N N O 1652.

1. An ordinance for continuance of the act for redemption of captives.
2. Prohibiting the planting of tobacco in England.
3. For continuing John Bradshaw, serjeant at law, chancellor of the duchy and county-palatine of Lancaster, and Bartholomew Hall, Esq. attorney-general of the duchy of Lancaster, and for continuing the jurisdiction of the said duchy and county-palatine of Lancaster.
4. For transferring the powers of the committees for obstructions.
5. For relief of poor prisoners.
6. An additional act for sale of the fee-farm rents.
7. For raising of 90,000 l. by the month, for six months, to commence the 24th of June, 1652, until the 25th of December next ensuing, towards the maintenance of the forces in England, Ireland, and Scotland, raised by authority of Parliament, for the service of this commonwealth.
8. For the continuance of the committee for the army and treasurers at war.
9. For

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9. For transferring the powers of the committees for indemnity.
10. For relief of the several counties, in case of being doubly charged with assessments, through default of treasurers, receivers-general, collectors, or sub-collectors.
11. For several lands and estates forfeited to the commonwealth for treason, appointed to be sold for the use of the navy.
12. For enabling the judges of the Northern circuit to hold an assize at Duresme, on Friday the 27th of August, 1652.
13. For the settling of Ireland.
14. For stating and determining the accounts of such officers and soldiers as are or have been employed in the service of this commonwealth in Ireland.
15. For calling home seamen and mariners, and inhibiting such to serve abroad without license.
16. An additional act for sale of fee-farm rents.
17. For reviving a former act for relief of persons upon articles.
18. For disenabling delinquents to bear office, or to have any voice or vote in elections of any public officer.
19. For further empowering the commissioners for removing obstructions to determine claims.
20. For constituting Matthias Valentine, Esq. a trustee for sale of several lands and estates forfeited to the commonwealth for treason, in the place of Sampson Sheffield, Esq. deceased.
21. For continuing the commissioners for compounding.
22. For continuance of judicatories in Scotland.
23. An additional act for sale of several lands and estates forfeited to the commonwealth for treason.
24. For an assessment at the rate of 120,000 l. by the month, for six months, from the 25th of December, 1652, to the 24th of June next ensuing, towards the maintenance of the army in England, Ireland, and Scotland, as also for the navy.
25. For constituting commissioners for ordering and managing the affairs of the Admiralty and navy.
26. For constituting commissioners to have inspection into the treasuries of this commonwealth, and for settling a treasury.
27. For ascertaining the time of payment of monies due upon Weavers-Hall bills.
28. Appointing a committee for the army, and treasurers at war.
29. For further doubling the sum of 100,000 l. upon an act, entitled, An act for sale of several lands and estates forfeited to the commonwealth for treason.
30. For continuance of an act for redemption of captives.
31. For

31. For the exposing to sale divers castles, houses, parks, lands and hereditaments belonging to the late king, queen, or prince, exempted from sale by a former act.

32. Empowering the commissioners for inspecting the treasuries to issue warrants for payment of the monies appointed for the use of the navy.

33. For continuing John Bradshaw, serjeant at law, chancellor of the duchy and county-palatine of Lancaster, and Bartholomew Hall, Esq. attorney-general of the duchy of Lancaster, and for continuing the jurisdiction of the said duchy and county-palatine of Lancaster.

34. For reviving of a former act, entitled, An act against unlicensed and scandalous books and pamphlets, and for regulating of printing, with some additions and explanations.

35. For making of salt-petre.

36. For impressing of seamen.

37. For the continuance of the customs until the 25th of March, in the year 1654.

38. For continuance of an imposition upon coals, towards the building and maintaining ships for guarding the seas.

39. An act for the observation of a day of public fasting and humiliation.

40. For setting apart Wednesday, the 13th day of October, 1652, for a day of public fasting and humiliation.

A N N O 1653.

1. An act for probate of wills, and granting administrations.

2. For continuing the jurisdiction of the duchy of the county-palatine of Lancaster.

3. An act appointing a committee for the army, and treasurers at war.

4. For constituting commissioners for ordering and managing the affairs of the Admiralty and navy.

5. Touching the several receipts of the revenue, and treasuries of the commonwealth, and the bringing the same into one treasury.

6. For taking away fines upon bills, declarations and original writs.

7. An additional act for stating and determining the accounts of the officers and soldiers of the army in Ireland.

8. Touching marriages and the registering thereof; and also touching births and burials.

9. For the more speedy and effectual bringing-in of the arrears of the excise.

10. Concerning the planters of tobacco in England.

11. For

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11. For continuing of the receipts of excise until the twenty-ninth day of December, 1653.
12. An explanatory additional act for the sale of the remaining fee-farm rents, and the finishing of that whole affair.
13. For continuing the privileges and jurisdiction of the county of Lancaster.
14. For the speedy and effectual satisfaction of the adventurers for lands in Ireland, and of the arrears due to the soldiery there, and of other public debts, and for the encouragement of Protestants to plant and inhabit Ireland.
15. For the relief of creditors and poor prisoners.
16. For accounts, and clearing of public debts, and for discovering frauds or concealments of any thing due to the commonwealth.
17. For confirmation of the sales of the estates of Sir John Stowell, knight of the Bath.
18. An act touching idiots and lunatics.
19. An act empowering the committee of the army to state and determine the accounts of all officers and soldiers, and others employed by them, for monies by them received from the 26th of March, 1647, until the 25th of July, 1653.
20. An act enabling the commissioners of Parliament for compounding with delinquents, to dispose of two parts of the lands and estates of Recusants, for the benefit of the commonwealth.
21. For the better and more effectual discovery and prosecution of thieves and highwaymen.
22. For the continuing the powers of the commissioners for compounding, &c. advance of money, and indemnity.
23. For redress of delays and mischiefs arising by writs of error, and writs of false judgment in several cases.
24. For repealing a branch of a certain act of the late Parliament, entitled, An act for subscribing the Engagement.
25. Concerning the determination of several claims now depending before the commissioners for removing obstructions.
26. For regulating the making of stufs in Norfolk and Norwich.
27. For the deafforestation, sale, and improvement of the forests, and of the honors, manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, within the usual limits and perambulations of the same, heretofore belonging to the late king, queen and prince.
28. For establishing an high court-of justice.
29. For an affliment at the rate of 120,000 l. by the month, for six months, from the twenty-fifth day of December, 1653, to the twenty-fourth day of June then next ensuing, towards the maintenance of the armies and navies of this commonwealth.

30. A declaration for a time of public thanksgiving upon the 25th of this instant, August, for the great victory lately vouchsafed to the fleet at sea.

1. AN ORDINANCE for continuing of the excise.
2. For continuation of an act of Parliament, entitled, An act for redemption of captives.
3. For the reviving an act of parliament, entitled, An act for probate of wills, and granting administrations.
4. For alterations of several names and forms heretofore used in courts, writs, grants, patents, commissions, &c. and settling of proceedings in courts of law, justice, and equity within the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, according to the present government.
5. For appointing commissioners for the better ordering and bringing in the duty of excise, and the arrears thereof.
6. For continuing the powers of the commissioners for compounding, &c. the committee for advance of money, and commissioners of indemnity.
7. For repealing of several acts and resolves of parliament, made for or touching the subscribing or taking the Engagement.
8. Declaring the offences therein mentioned, and no other, shall be adjudged high-treason within the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.
9. For appointing a committee for the army and treasurers at war.
10. For the better ordering and disposing the estates under sequestration.
11. Touching the assessing, levying, and collecting of the latter three months assessment, appointed by an act of the late parliament, entitled, An act for an assessment at the rate of £20,000l. by the month, for six months, from the 25th of December, 1653, to the 24th of June then next ensuing, towards the maintenance of the armies and navies of this Commonwealth.
12. An ordinance of explanation touching treasons.
13. For reviving the jurisdiction of the county palatine of Lancaster, and for holding an assize there.
14. For continuing the excise.
15. For continuation of an act of parliament, entitled, An act for the continuation of the customs until the 20th day of March, in the year 1653.
16. For appointing commissioners for approbation of public preachers.
17. For continuation of an act, entitled, An act for laying

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an imposition upon coals, towards the building and maintaining ships for guarding the seas.

18. For passing custodies of idiots and lunatics.
19. Declaring that the proceedings in case of murder in Ireland shall be as formerly.
20. For settling and confirming of the manors of Framlingham and Saxtead, in the county of Suffolk, and the lands, tene- ments, and hereditaments thereunto belonging, devised by Sir Robert Hitcham, knight, and late serjeant at law, to certain charitable uses.
21. For continuing an act for impressing of seamen.
22. For relief of persons that have acted in the service of the Parliament.

A N N O 1654.

1. An ordinance for suspending the proceedings of the judges named in the act, entitled, An act for the relief of creditors and poor prisoners.
2. For prohibiting cock-matches.
3. For the better amending and keeping in repair the com- mon highways within this nation.
4. For continuing one act of parliament, entitled, An act for probate of wills and granting administrations.
5. For adjourning part of Easter-term.
6. For empowering commissioners to put in execution an act of parliament, entitled, An act prohibiting the planting of tobacco in England.
7. Touching surveyors of highways for this present year 1654.
8. Pardon and grace to the people of Scotland.
9. For uniting Scotland into one Commonwealth with England.
10. For erecting courts-baron in Scotland.
11. For settling the estates of several excepted persons in Scotland in trustees, to the uses herein expressed.
12. For further suspending the proceedings of the judges named in an act, entitled, An act for the relief of creditors and poor prisoners.
13. An additional ordinance for the excise.
14. For further doubling upon and finishing the sale of deans, deans and chapters lands, and of manors of rectories, glebe-lands, &c.
15. For continuing an ordinance, entitled, An ordinance for further suspending the proceedings of the judges named in an act of parliament, entitled, An act for relief of creditors and poor prisoners, until the 31st of May instant.
16. For holding the county-court for the county of Chester

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at the town of Norwich, during the continuance of the infection of the plague in Chester.

17. For relief of debtors in Scotland, in some cases of extremity.

18. For explanation of a former ordinance, entitled, An ordinance for better amending and keeping in repair the common highways within this nation.

19. For empowering the commissioners appointed to consider of the matters contained in the 28th article of the treaty with the States-General, to administer an oath.

20. For preservation of the works of the great level of the fens.

21. An explanation touching the jurisdiction of the court of Admiralty.

22. For an assessment for six months, from the 24th of June, 1654, for maintenance of the armies and navies of this Commonwealth, at the rate of 120,000l. *per mensem*, for the first three months, and at the rate of 90,000l. *per mensem*, for the last three months thereof.

23. For enabling the judge or judges of the Northern circuit to hold an assize and gaol delivery at Durham.

24. For the further doubling of 2000l. upon deans, deans and chapters lands, manors of rectories, glebe-lands, &c.

25. For relief of creditors and poor prisoners.

26. For reviving the court of the duchy of Lancaster.

27. For establishing an high court of justice.

28. For bringing the public revenues of this Commonwealth into one treasury.

29. Appointing who shall be justices of assize for the county-palatine of Lancaster.

30. For giving further time for approbation of public preachers.

31. For the regulation of hackney-coachmen in London, and the places adjacent.

32. For the further encouragement of the adventurers for lands in Ireland, and of the soldiers and other planters there.

33. For distribution of the elections in Scotland.

34. For distribution of the elections in Ireland.

35. For indemnity to the English Protestants of the province of Munster in Ireland.

36. Against challenges, duels, and all provocations thereunto.

37. For continuing the committee for the army and treasurers at war.

38. Empowering the commissioners of the customs and others, for the better suppreſſing of drunkeſſeſs and profane cursing and ſweatiſg in perſons employed under them.

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39. For prohibiting horse-races for six months.
40. For appointing a committee of the adventurers for lands, in Ireland, for determining differences among the said adventurers.
41. For relief of creditors and poor prisoners.
42. For the better redress of the abuses committed upon the river Thames, and waters of Medway.
43. For appointing commissioners to survey the forests, honors, manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, within the usual limits and perambulations of the same, heretofore belonging to the late king, queen, and prince.
44. For the better regulating and limiting the jurisdiction of the high court of Chancery.
45. For ejecting of scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters.
46. For appointing the excise of alum and copperas.
47. For taking an account of the monies received upon the act for the better propagation and preaching of the Gospel in Wales.
48. For sale of four forests or chases reserved for collateral security to the soldiers.
49. For the better maintenance and encouragement of preaching ministers, and for uniting of parishes.
50. For enabling such soldiers as served the Commonwealth in the late wars to exercise any trade.
51. Touching the office of postage of letters, in land and foreign.
52. For giving liberty for the carrying of mill-stones, timber, stone, &c.
53. Touching fines.
54. For further doubling upon deans and chapters lands.
55. For admitting Protestants in Ireland to compound.
56. For bringing several branches of the revenue under the managing and government of the commissioners for the treasury and court of Exchequer.
57. For reviving and continuing an act of parliament for recovery and preservation of many thousand acres of ground in Norfolk and Suffolk, surrounded by the rage of the sea.
58. For continuance and maintenance of the alms-houses and alms-men, called Poor Knights, and other charitable and pious uses; whereof the late dean and canons of Windsor were seofees in trust.
59. An additional ordinance to the ordinance appointing commissioners for approbation of public preachers.
60. For appointing visitors for the universities.

A N N O 1656.

1. An ACT that the passing of bills shall not determine this present session of parliament.
2. For renouncing and disannulling the pretended title of Charles Stewart, &c.
3. For the security of his highness the lord-protector's person, and continuance of the nation in peace and safety.
4. For taking away the court of Wards and Liveries.
5. For exportation of several commodities of the breed, growth, and manufacture of this commonwealth.
6. The humble petition and advice of the knights, citizens, and burgesses now assembled in the parliament of this commonwealth.
7. For the taking away of purveyance and composition for purveyance.
8. For limiting and settling the prices of wines.
9. For the continuing and establishing the subsidy of tonnage and poundage, and for reviving an act for the better packing of butter, and redress of abuses therein.
10. Touching several acts and ordinances made since the 20th of April, 1653, and before the 3d of September, 1654, and other acts, &c.
11. Instructions, &c. for the four forests.
12. For an assessment upon England, at the rate of 60,000 l. by the month, for three months, from the 25th day of March, 1657, to the 24th of June then next ensuing.
13. For the three months assessments in Ireland, for the maintenance of the Spanish war, and other services of the commonwealth.
14. For raising of 15,000 l. sterling in Scotland.
15. For the better observation of the Lord's-day.
16. For convicting, discovering, and repressing of Popish recusants.
17. For indemnifying of such persons as have acted for the service of the public.
18. The humble, additional, and explanatory petition and advice of the knights, citizens, and burgesses now assembled in the Parliament of this commonwealth.
19. An additional act for the better improvement and advancing the receipts of the excise and new impost.
20. Against vagrants, and wandering, idle, dissolute persons.
21. For giving license for transporting of fish in foreign bottoms.
22. For

A P P E N D I X.

22. For the assuring, confirming, and settling of lands and estates in Ireland.
23. For preventing the multiplicity of buildings in and about the suburbs of London, and within ten miles of the same.
24. For an assessment, at the rate of 35,000 l. by the month on England, 6000 l. by the month upon Scotland, and 9000 l. by the month on Ireland, for three years, from the 24th of June, 1657, for a temporary supply towards the maintenance of the armies and navies of this commonwealth.
25. For punishing such persons as live at high rates, and have no visible estate, profession, or calling answerable thereto.
26. For the attainer of the rebels in Ireland.
27. For the better suppressing of theft upon the borders of England and Scotland, and for discovering of highwaymen and other felons.
28. For the quiet enjoying of sequestered parsonages and vicarages by the present incumbent.
29. For the settling the poitage of England, Scotland, and Ireland.
30. For the improvement of the revenues of the custom and excise.
31. For the mitigation of the rigor of the forest-laws, within the forest of Dean, in the county of Gloucester, and for the preservation of wood and timber in the said forest.
32. For the adjournment of this present parliament from the 26th of June, 1657, unto the 20th of January next ensuing.

END of the FIFTH VOLUME.

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